Problems of Modern Indian Literature

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PRASANTA CHANDRA MAHALANOBIS

Academician B. Gafurov

When Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis died a year ago, India lost one of its outstanding scientists. Today he would have been 81.

Those were eighty years of glorious, many-faceted and vivid life brimming with events. The name of Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis enjoys great popularity and respect in the Soviet Union. He was one of those men who worked arm-in-arm with Jawaharlal Nehru making his contribution to the construction of the new life, to strengthening of the independent Indian state.

Mahalanobis is justly regarded as the founder of statistical research in India. He was the first to realize the tremendous importance of statistics for the economy of the developing country. A rare combination of the gift of a scientist-theorist and a brilliant talent of an organiser enabled Mahalanobis to evolve and successfully introduce into practice those methods of mathematical statistics which were urgently needed by the developing economy of India.

Prominent mathematician Mahalanobis was far from being an armchair scientist. In 1922, after investigating with the help of statistics the causes of the disastrous flood in Bengal, he not only gave precise recommendations for the prevention of floods but also made important theoretical conclusions which later on were used during the construction of the Damodar irrigation complex.

In 1931, Mahalanobis organised the Indian Statistical Institute which conducted a host of valuable research projects and which for many years has been and is still today the main centre of training statisticians of which India has been and is today in such a great need. Later, in the '50s, the Institute has become one of the most important basis for preparing and conducting five-year plans for the development of Indian economy. In those years Mahalanobis himself was the closess assistant of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the questions of economic planning. Earlier, in the end of the '40s, he was engaged in the problem of optimal investment of capital into the developing economy. The scientist mathematically grounded the necessity for the rapid development of heavy industry.

The scope of interests and passions of Professor Mahalanobis was not restricted to science alone. As a literary critic, he wrote many articles about Rabindranath Tagore and some of his works, and about Bengali literature and art. Foreign guests of the Indian Statistical Institute are acquainted with has guidebooks and descriptions of historical monuments and places of interest in various towns of the country. Mahalanobis took great intertest in Indian history and philosophy. specially studied ancient Jain manuscrips and proved resemblance between the teaching of this school and the laws of quantum physics. Professor Mahalanobis had his own outlook on architecture and took part in the working out of designs of administrative, study and dwelling buldings in the campus of the Indian Statistical Institute.

He spent much time studying book publishing and printing.

His vast intellect and unlimited capacity for work allowed him to be engaged at one and the same time in State and scientific, administrative and pedagogical activities. Being quite a busy man, he could spend long hours in scientific debates and discussions consistently and convincingly upholding his point of view. The doors of his house in Calcutta and Delhi were always open for foreign guests of the Institute, Indian scientists and students, and for various visitors. Even when he was absorbed in the solution of some theoretical problems, Prasanta Mahalanobis always found time for planning the programmes of tours for foreign scientists down to the minute detail.

Such was Professor Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, prominent scientist, brilliant pedagogue and organiser of science, creator of utterly new trend in Indian and world science, outstanding public and state leader. His numerous works and many-sided activity have brought India and its science well-deserved world renown and fame.

Mahalanobis did not belong to the kind of scientists who once having won recognition subsequently rest on their laurels and were content with their former merits. Work was his element from the very youth to the end of his days. He knew no idleness and was always busy working on something, he gave all of himself to any work he was engaged in. Mahalanobis was endowed with a rare gift of finding new, unique and unexpectedly simple solutions in the most complex and involved situations ; he could present a seemingly well-known and thoroughly investigated problem in a somewhat fresh and original way.

Weakened after a serious but already useless operation Mahalanobis did not cease to work. He continued to perfect his last work "Method of the Fractile Graphical Analysis with a Wide Sphere of Application", which has, truly, become his swan-song. Bed-ridden he was nevertheless thinking about how things were going at the Statistical Institute and worrying about the collection of letters of Rabindranath Tagore that had to be prepared for print....

The sucessful development of Soviet-Indian scientific ties is inseparably linked with the name of Mahalanobis. During his frequent visits to the Soviet Union he met with its leading scientists, delivered lectures, attentively studied the experience of organisation of science in the USSR.

Soviet-Indian anthropological and ethnographical field research operations in certain areas of India were undertaken at his initiative, as well as joint works of the Soviet and Indian scientists in mathematics and statistics.

We know that scientific activity of Professor Mahalanobis has been highly appraised by the world learned public. He was elected member of many foreign scientific societies and academies. Mahalanobis was one of the prominent people of India who from the very first steps made by the independent Indian state realized all the importance and urgency of the Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation. He was initiator, inspier and organiser of the Soviet-Indian scientific cooperation. In 1958, he was elected foreign member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Mahalanobis was particularly close and dear for the Soviet scientists engaged in the study of India. We, Soviet scientists-orientalists regarded him as our colleague. The Statistical Institute in Calcutta has become for us our native home where we were always shown hospitality by Mahalanobis and his assistants.

Many of the Russian scientists cherish in their hearts the sincere gratitude to this wonderful man. It is thanks to his advice and help that they

could accomplish their research projects and publish scientific works which helped the Soviet people to get to know India better.

I, personally maintained most close and friendly contacts with Mahalanobis for almost twenty years. The Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the Armyansky Lane in Moscow was for him his native home just as the Statistical Institute in Calcutta has always been for us.

There was not a single time when he failed to come and see us during his visits to Moscow, and every meeting with him invariably turned into an interesting and useful exchange of opinions, heart-to-heart talk about India, about our country and about what should and can be done to further the ties of friendship between our countries, what new works should be planned and realized by the Soviet scientists engaged in the study of India.

We shall never forget the great help Mahalanobis rendered the Soviet orientalists and cultured workers during the preparations and conduct of Rabindranath Tagore's birth centenary held in the Soviet Union in 1961. He and his wife appeared before the Soviet audiences with lectures and reports about Tagore and his creative work. His personal reminiscenees about Tagore, their long-standing friendship, and about personality of the great son of India aroused particular interest.

The anniversary collection put out by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in connection with Tagore's centenary included Mahalanobis's article "Rabindranath Tagore and Contemporary India", which in a way summed up his activity in our country in popularising Tagore. In it Mahalanobis stressed the great contribution of Tagore to the creation of independent India, demonstrated his activity directed at the development of Indian economy and culture and his desire to rally the peoples of India and eliminate the Hindu-Moslem contradictions. The works of Mahalanobis, who was with Tagore to his last days, about the friendly feelings which the great son of India felt towards the Soviet Union are particularly important to us.

Speaking about Tagore's "Letters About Russia", which appeared after his visit to the USSR in 1930, Mahalanobis writes : "Despite the fact that the conditions of life in the USSR in those times were rather difficult, the poet foresaw the bright future of the new civilisation. To the very last days of his life Tagore very often recalled what he had seen in the Soviet Union." Mahalanobis ends his article with the recollection of his last talk with Tagore. Permit me to cite this passage in full :

"In conclusion I shall describe my last talk with Rabindranath Tagore, half an hour before the operation after which he died. During his illness in July 1941, Tagore every morning waited impationately for the news from the battlefields of Russia. He repeated time and again that victory of Russia would bring him great happiness. Every morning he hoped to hear good news. When the communique turned out to be bad, he pushed the paper aside and no longer read it. Half an hour before the operation Tagore asked me : 'Tell me, what's the news about Russia ?' When I told him that things were improving at the front, his face brightened up and he exclaimed : 'Oh, how could it be otherwise ? It should be so. There should have been an improvement. They can achieve it. And only they would achieve it.'

These were Tagore's last words. I was happy to see his face illumined by the firm belief in the victory of the man."

Prasanta Mahalanobis, just as his friend and teacher the great Gurudev, carried through his entire life this firm belief in the victory of the man.

Soviet scientists and the entire Soviet people shall always cherich in their hearts the bright memory about this wonderful man, they shall always remember that it was he who made the great contribution to the cause of strengthening and developing the Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation.

PREFACE

Prabhakar Machwe and Evgeny Chelishev

The present book is the first collection of articles by Indian and Soviet scholars published in the English language in India. It testifies to the development of scientific and cultural cooperation between India and the Soviet Union.

The book raises a number of important problems in Indian literatures which attract the main attention of both Indian and Soviet literary criticism. At present the problems before Indian literary critics are the following ones ;

India being a multi-lingual, multi-racial, multi-cultural-level country, the problems of literary criticism in various literatures in Indian languages differ from language to language. Yet there is a basic unity which is fundamental to all literary evaluation in India. The search for this unity-within-diversity is the primary concern of those who are serious students of comparative literature.

Firstly, there is the historical-traditional method of writing commentaries and treatises on standard classic works, helping the connoisseur (*Rasika*) to enjoy the artistic work better ; pointing out the good qualities and mentioning the blemishes, if any. In this category all the works of Sanskrit poetics and rhetorics fall, whether they emphasize on one aspect or the other of poetry : emotional content, style, suggestibility, figures of speech, irony (*Rassa*, *Riti*, *Dhwani*, *Alamkar*, *Vakrokti*). Amongst such critics who have done much scholarly work on ancient Indian rhetorics, mention can be made of Sanskritists who wrote in English, like Dr. P. V. Kane, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. S. K. De, Dr. K. C. Pandey, Shri K. K. Nair (Krishna Chaitanya) and many others. In the same line of work, many scholars have excellent work in different Indian languages, like the Sahitya Akademi Award winning works of Dr. G. T. Deshpande (Marathi), Shri Nagindas Parekh (Gujarati), Dr. Nagendra (Hindi). Janab Imtiaz Ali Arshi (Urdu), Dr. Vasudevasharan Agrawal (Hindi), Dr. I. C. Cheko (Malayalam), Shri P. S. Apparavu, Shri Thapi Dharmarao (Telugu) are such noted commentators. Much of this work is in the nature of historical and textual criticism, more interpretative than inspirational, more scholastic than polemical.

Atul Chandra Hazarika's Study of Assamese theatre or Trailokyanath Goswami's Assamese work on Modern Short Stories ; Syed Masud Hasan Rizi's Urdu Drama aur Stage, or Balwant Gargi's History and Development of Indian theatre in Punjabi ; Sindhi Nasar Ji Tarikh (History of Sindhi prose) by Sri M. U. Malkani are such Akademi Award winning books which fall under the second category of historical books of literary criticism. Under this class there are also studies of individual authors in depth like Dr. Khwaja Ahmed Faruqi's Mir Taqi Mir or the study of classic works like Shah-Jo-Rasalo in Sindhi by K. B. Adwani or evaluation of Kalidasa in Kannada by Adya Rangachari. From Amongst the Sahitya Akademi Award winning books, I have only mentioned a few ; but it does not mean that there are not many others in various Indian language.

The other kind of criticism which is seen amongst modern Indian critics is not in the nature of mere historical research but study in depth not only of the development of a particular genre in literature, but of the thought-content. Earlier to the formation of the Progressive Writers Association in India in 1936, there were the idealist-moralist critics who wanted literature to adhere to some pet and set ethical pattern—Tolstoy's 'What is Art ?' was their guide—and many Gandhians wrote in that strain, with a humanistic purposefulness. Many examples of such critics can be given from all Indian languages.

Rabindranath Tagore in his Prachin Sahitya and other literary essays took the stand of the autonomy of Arts. He was not exactly and aesthete or an advocate of Art-for-art'ssake ; but as Abu Sayeed Ayyub contends in Rabindranath O Adhunikata, he was a modernist. This kind of aesthetic criticism was followed in the twenties by many critics in all Indian languages. Some call it Indian romanticism, as contrasted with English, French or German romanticism. This trend combined on the one hand the pantheistic tradition of worshipping Nature as Mother, and on the other the extending of the frontiers of human sympathy to all classes and communities, irrespective of caste, creed, colour or coterie. This kind of liberal humanistic critical approach was the base of the later ideological literary criticism.

In the forties and mid-fifties, under the influence of the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, many literary critics took their inspiration and ideological dialectic from scientific humanists and socialist thinkers of the West. Marx, Lenin, Engels and others influenced many young minds. One finds a galaxy of such young intellectuals in all Indian languages, who applied the tenets of historical materialism and socialist realism to the literatures of their respective languages. Many such names are mentioned in the papers read on the "Influence of Lenin on Indian Literatures" in the five Seminars held under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi in 1970. To mention a few prominent names who were then influenced by socialist though : Bishnu De, Gopal Haldar, D. P. Chattopadhyaya and Mahadev Saha (Bengali) ; Bhogilal Gandhi and Swapnastha (Gujarati) ; Rahul Sankrityayan, Prakashchandra Gupta, Ramvilas Sharma, Rangeya Rashav, Shivadan Singh Chauhan, Amrit Rai and Namwar Singh (Hindi) ; A. N. Krishnarao and S. Karantha (Kannada) ; Dinanath Nadim and P. N. Pushp (Kashmiri) ; Joseph Mundasseri, M. P. Paul, P. Keshavadev, T. S. Pillai and S. K. Pottekett (Malayalam) ; S. A. Dange, Lalji Pendse, D. K. Bedekar, P. Y. Deshpande, Sharatchandra Muktibodh, Sada Karhade (Marathi) ; Anant Patnaik and Manmohan Mishra (Oriya) ; Gurbakhsh Singh, Sant Singh Sekhon and Mohan Singh (Punjabi) ; K. Kutumba Rao, T. Gopichand, Shri Shri ; Arudra and Dasharathi (Telugu) ; Sajjad Zaheer, Abdul Alim, Ehtisham Husain, A. A. Suroor, Muhammad Hasan (Urdu). Not all of them remained constant or continuous adherers of their early belief in scientific Marxism. During the course of last 28 years, some of them turned ultra-left and others completed a full circle and assumed a *volte face*. But the contribution of these critics during the period 1936 to 1956, is historically important. They added the following dimensions to Indian literary criticism :

1. Re-evaluation of classical literary theories in the light of new socio-economic and historical researches.

2. Judging the author's life and his work as mutually and dialectically influencing entities.

3. Studying the processes of literary creation : the motivations behind a particular image-pattern in poetry, the architectonics of a novel or the development of climax in drama.

4. Adjudging language used by the writer as the product of a class-situation, and its proper utilization in achieving the desired effect and goal.

5. Probe into the spiritual intention of the author and his contribution to the continuence of literary heritage and tradition in a particular region or nationality.

6. Appreciation of the experiment and innovation in form necessitated by the inner logic of revolutionary consciousness and desire for a break-through.

7. Understanding the element of "negation of negation" in the content of the work. Critically examining its influence on and the utility to the masses.

All this churning of thought during the two decades preceding and following the last World War II, in the field of literary criticism in Indian languages, can be broadly classified into the different schools of literary criticism now current in India.

The Neo-Classical School

It adheres to the historical-traditional style of sifting all the available information about the author and his work and arranging it in a coherent, chronological, cause-and-effect pattern. The frame of reference is generally the ancient works on Rhetorics.

The Sociological School

Marxists and socialists analyse a given writer's work by its class-content and class-motivation. Anything not fitting in the class-war-centred formula is rejected as reactionary, escapist or anti-social writing. Sometimes inadequate data about the author or the work, or overenthusiasm to adopt a certain tendentious line lands such criticism into 'vulgar sociology'.

The Linguistic-Structural School

The critic is more concerned with the language and style of the work. The author's biographical letails are not relevant. The frequent use of a particular phrase, or the drawing upon or dependence on a particular lexical reservoir is scientifically analysed. The phenomic and morphological values of usages and the syntactical specialities are the main targets of the Formalist school.

The Psychoanalytical School

Taking their cue from Freud, Jung, Adler, Havellock Ellis, Westermark and such depth-psychologists, the critic is all the more interested in the inner process in artist's mind, and the intention in creating a particular mosaic of imagery in poetry ; or characters in a novel ; or situations or dialogue-sequences in a drama. This school has given rise to Existentialist critics too, whose concern is 'alienation' of the modern man.

The Anthropological School

The latest approaeh is to find out 'the collective unconscious' as the motivation. In a caste-ridden country like India, there are many mental 'structures' and 'blocks' which are responsible for certain sets of effects. Sometimes the apparently irrational or aboriginal may cause the 'archetypel myths' which are the eternal sources of many apparent aberrations or unprecedented and original artistic creations. In a stagnant social context atavism is possible.

This broad list of five different categories is in no way exhaustive. There are many possible permutations and combinations. We deliberately did not give the names of different critics in different languages belonging to all these different schools. We gave a tentative list of 'Progressive' critics, who were influenced by similar thinking in the history of literary criticism in Soviet Russia by great masters like Dobrolyubov, Fadeyev,Gorky, Ehrenburg and many such thinkers.

The story of mutual influences in this field is a long story and it is not possible to narrate it here in details. But as Soviet indologists and linguists, translators and scholars, critics and creative writers have been concerned with many Indian themes and authors, works and journals ; there has been in India, during last fifty years, a growing reciprocal awareness about the great masters of Russian prose, poetry and drama. Hundreds of translations of famous poems from poets like Pushkin, Lermontov, Mayakovsky, Akhmatova, Surkhov, Yesenin, Gamzatov, Zulfia, Evtushenko, Voznesenski and others are published in journals and bookform in several languages all over India. So are the fictional works and plays of Gogol, Tolstoy, Gorky, Turgienev, Dostoyevski, Chekhov, Kuprin, Sholokhov, Alexi Tolstoy, Ilya Ehrenburg, Wanda Wasilewskaya, Ostrovsky and others are known to millions of readers in Indian languages. Influences of Soviet authors on great Indian writers are well-known. To cite a few examples : Premchand and Jainendra Kumar translated Tolstoy in Hindi, Sane Guruji based his Shyamchi Aai (Mother of Shyam) in Marathi on Gorky's Mother, Agyeya's story *Letter*-Box in *Sharanarthi* is based on Chekhov's story, *Yama, the Pit* has several translations in Indian languages, Amrit Rai translated *How the Steel Was Tempered* in Hindi, Dostoievsky's *Idiot* is translated by Gurbachan Singh Talib in Punjabi (published by Sahitya Akademi); Chekhov's plays are adapted and staged in sevaral Indian languages. This list can be enlarged.

All this shows that the two great countries, bold of which love World Peace, and which have a glorious past and still greater future, have much to learn and gain from mutual friendship. In the field of literature and culture the work done during last 100 years in Soviet Russia and 50 years in India has to be enlarged and given a greater meaningfulness by mutual cooperation of creative writers, scholars, literary historians and critics.

The Indian literature evokes great interest in the USSR nowadays. Since long the Russian public have paid deep interest towards the life of the Indian people—the people, who created extraordinary memorials in the field of spiritual and material culture. The Russian people have always had great consideration for the cultural past of India as well as for its present. The constant striving was characteristic of Russian people to learn and appreciate the best results of people's genius. Such consideration particularly increased after India made itself free from the colonialism. Since then good-neighbour relations between our countries have been established.

The fruitful development of cultural and scientific cooperation between the Soviet Union and India is of vital importance for both nations. It makes them closer to each other, it assists a better mutual understanding and scientific and cultural progress of both courtries.

670 books by more than hundred Indian writers with edition of more than 26 million copies, published in 32 vernacular languages of the USSR—here are the results of a great work done in the Soviet Union on translating and publishing Indian books. At the same time these figures present another evidence

of the mentioned interest which the Soviet people pay towards the original and multicoloured Indian literature.

As for strengthening friendly relations and those of mutual understanding between our nations, research-works by Soviet indologists, who give all their knowledge and force to the noble cause of getting our nations closer, play a great part here. These research-works stimulate the Soviet people to learn the life, history, economy, philosophy, religion, literature and art of modern India as well as of India in ancient times.

The achievements made by the Soviet indologists in the studies of the Indian literature are well known and appreciated in India. Shrimati Indira Gandhi when speaking in Moscow on the 28th of September, 1971 said : "In no other country the research of the Indian languages and literatures is carried on in such a scale as it is made in the USSR".

The tradition of studying the Indian literature in Russia was founded long before the revolution—in the end of XVIII cent. Then appeared the very first translations into Russian of a number of works representing the ancient Indian literature. In 1880 in Petersburg Prof. J. Minaev published his essay on the ancient Indian literature printed in the book "History of World Literature". This essay can be regarded as general conclusion in the field of translating and studying the ancient Indian literature in Russia. Side by side with Minaev should be mentioned such eminent Russian scholars in Sanskrit as Academicians F. Sherbatskoy and S. Oldenburg who are the founders of Indian philology in Russia. Up to now such works by S. Oldenburg as "Buddhist legends and Buddhism", "On the Sources of Some Indian Dramas" and "Travel of Fairy Tale" as well as such works by F. Sherbatskoy as "The Theory of Poetry in India" and many others are still of great scientific importance.

At present the traditions of making research of the ancient Indian literature are successfully developed by such Soviet scholars as Y. Alichanova, O. Volkova, P. Grintser, V. Kalyanov, J. Rabinovitch, V. Sementsov, T. Serebryakov, A. Syrkin, E. Tyomkin, J. Erman and some others. Their work contains some features that we consider a new stage in the research of ancient Indian literature.

First, they try to coordinate the literature of ancient India with the world literary process by putting wide parallels between different forms of ancient Indian literature and some aesthetically close literary forms in other countries.

Second, they try to regard this literature not as some ancient fossil but a vital tradition that fruitfully effects the present and serves as an endless resource for the contemporary literature and culture of our time as a whole.

Third, they try to expose its social essense, its connection with the epoch, with history of the nation. They try to show some fighting tendencies that reflect class structure of ancient Indian society. For instance we might mention here such books by P. Grintser as "Set in a Frame Sanskrit Novel", his research of epos, or such works be E. Tyomkin as the one about Bhamaha, the works by J. Erman and J. Rabinovitch on Kalidasa etc.

There is one more characteristic feature that differs contemporary literary critisism from the works of the founders of scientific research of ancient Indian literature in Russia. It is that the term "ancient Indian literature" has got now a broader sense. It is not just the Sanskrit literature itself, but the ancient literature of South India too (mainly Tamil), that is included into this notion. The examples of such an approach are the translations and research-works on

"Kural" and "Shilappadhikarama" by O. Ibragimov, the research of the medieval Telugu literature made by N. Gurov.

Developing the tradition of our indology after the Great October Revolution was a new branch started in it—the research of the literature of new and modern time. Academician A. Barannikov is considered to be its founder. In the beginning of the twenties he (with the help of Rahul Sankrityayan, an Indian scholar, staying then in the USSR) began teaching new Indian literatures and languages in Leningrad. In Moscow this work was carried on by M. Klyagina-Kondratjeva (again with the help of Indian specialists S. H. Vafa and S. Datta, also living in Moscow).

Academician Barannikov's translation of "Ramacharitamanasa", printed in 1948, and connected with this such works by him as "Suohashita in "Ramayana" by Tulsidas, "Artistic means in the Indian Poetry" and such his articles as "Saptasaroj" by Premchand, "The works by Gorky in India," "On some translations of Gorky into Indian languages", "A brief history of medieval Indian literatures" and others published in the thirties—forties founded the research of medieval, new and modern Indian literature in the USSR.

We must say, however, that now some of these works seem a little old. Sometimes the author instead of making research just raises the problem. Sometimes due to the lack of material some results seem too narrow. Despite all this these works present great interest even now as the beginning of studying the new Indian literature in the USSR. Many of Barannikov's ideas and suggestions are being developed, sometimes rejected by his students (which is no less important in science).

The most wide and fruitful research of new and modern Indian literature in the USSR began in the middle of 50s when in the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies a section of Indian philology was founded, which later in the beginning of 60s turned into a big department of Oriental Literatures.

In comparatively short period of time we managed to form collectives of scholars, who make research of Indian literatures.

At present the research of Indian literatures in the USSR is carried on in a few scientific and educational centres in Moscow (the Institute of Oriental Studies under the Academy of Sciencies of the USSR, The Institute of World Literature, the Moscow University), in Leningrad (a branch of the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies, the Leningrad University), in Tashkent (the Institute of Oriental Studies of Uzbekistan, the Tashkent University), in Dushanbe (the Institute of Oriental Studies of Tajikistan). Each of these centres has its own specialization in the research. In the Institute of the Oriental Studies in Moscow where the research on ancient Indian literature is made, still the main attention is paid to the problems of the present time, to the broad studies of regional literatures, as well as to the problems of theory. In the Gorky Institute of World Literature the problems of coordination between the Indian literature and all-world literary process are in the focus of attention. The Moscow University scholars mainly deal with writing the textbooks on Indian literatures. In Leningrad they have been developing the tradition of old Russian indology concentrating on the studies of ancient and medieval literatures. The base for making research of modern Indian literature and medieval literature in Farsi is laid in Tashkent and Dushanbe.

In the USSR there are now more than 30 Doctors of Philosophy and two D. Lit, who defended their thesis in the Indian literature. A lot of monographs, collected articles, scientific and artific translations have been published. It

is not only that during last years there come out many more publications on indology than in all the previous years but also that a new step towards theoretical scientific generalization from commonly descriptive methods of the research has been made.

What are the main characteristic features of the Soviet indology in the field of literature ?

First of all it is a wide research of a great number of Indian vernacular literatures. At the moment in the USSR the following Indian literatures are studied : Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Gujarati, Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and the Indian literature in English. In the nearest future other regional literatures will join the list.

In the USSR the research of life and work of the leading writers of vernacular literatures is carrried on. The following books dedicated to the authors representing the new and modern Indian literature have been published : in Bengali literature—Madhusudan Datta, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya, Rabindranath Tagore,Sharatchandra Chattopadhyaya, Nazrul-Islam, Manik Bandopadhyaya ; in Hindi—Harishchandra, Premchand, T. Prasad, Nirala, S. Pant, Yashpal, Vrindavanlal Varma, R. Dinkar, Amritlal Nagar, Upendranath Ashk ; Urdu—Ghalib, Iqbal, Ruswa, S. H. Manto, Krishan Chandra, Rajendra Singh Bedi, Ali Sardar Jafri ; Tamil—Subramanya Bharati, Kalki ; Telugu—Guruzada Apparao, Shri Shri ; Malayalam—Vallathol, Shankar Rurup ; English—Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan, Bhabari Bhattacharya etc.

The research-works on such medieval poets as Kabir, Surdas, Jayadev, Mukundaram Chakrabarti, Nazir Akbarabadi, Guru Nanak, Vemana and others have been completed.

While making the research of life and work of all these authors the Soviet indologists try to expose their characteristic features, national and easthetic originality.

What is characteristic of all these works ? First of all modern scientific methods demand that literature should be regarded as a social phenomenon, closely connected with the history of the nation. These methods are far from the dogmatic ones. The unity of high-minded and aesthetic analysis of fiction (against common description of facts), wide theoretical generalization of concrete literary phenomena is a necessary demand of literary science nowadays. The use of Marxist methods while analysing fiction makes it possible to raise problems of importance.

The following problems studied by Soviet indologists in the connection with modern Indian literature may be mentioned here. It is a problem of tradition and innovation. It contains the estimation of tradition from the point of view of its vitality and efficiency, as well as the problem to determine what is vital in this tradition and can be used as a creative power in modern Indian literatures.

Another important problem is the research of the evolution of aesthetic ideals, or the concept of beauty, the idea of a man's goal and the essence of life, the evolution of the hero in the works by the leading Indian writers.

The concept of man in the Indian literature is closely connected with the problems mentioned. We mean the research of the evolution of the nature and the content of humanism.

Many works by the Soviet indologists deal with creative methods used by the Indian writers, with the studies of the forms of development of critical

and socialist realism in modern Indian literatures as well as with specific features of Indian romanticism and modernism.

The research of correlation between different Indian literatures and on the other hand their connection with Western literatures is constantly in the focus of the Soviet indologists' attention.

They also pay considerable attention to the problem of national and international elements in literature. The research of particular specification in each regional national Indian literature and at the same time the discovery of the general and the universal similarities presents great interest to Soviet scholars. We think that the influence of Western literatures on Indian literatures should be neither overestimated nor underestimated. By now we may draw a conclusion that the leading Indian writers have always relied on the best achievements of the world culture and enriched their national culture with the experience gained by the writers of other countries. At the same time it should be mentioned that it has always been characteristic of reactionary forces to rely on the other nations' ideology and culture if it corresponded to theirs. In this connection we might refer to the following works published recently : "V. Lenin and the foreign Oriental Literatures". "The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Oriental Literature", "M. Gorky and the Foreign Oriental Literatures", "National and International Elements in the Oriental Literature". The problem of correlation and interaction between the Russian classical and modern literature on the one hand, and the Indian literature, on the other, seems very important in this connection.

Until recently both Indian and Soviet critics in their works have just mentioned some facts or some Russian classics being popular in India and the Soviet writers on their part cited some Indian authors etc. Now we try to raise this problem in all its high-minded and aesthetic aspects.

The Soviet indologists study the evolution of the aesthetics in the modern Indian literature. This work of comparative study has begun recently. Soviet indology made great achievements in the research of ancient Indian aesthetics and poetics too. Now a problem of evolution of the modern aesthetics has been put forward. The first attempt to solve this problem was made in the articles "Evolution of the aesthetic ideas in the modern Hindi poetry" and "Aesthetic ideals of Rabindranath Tagore" by E. Chelishev, published correspondingly in 1964 and 1966.

The role played by Indian literature in the struggle for national independence is also in the focus of attention of many works by the Soviet indologists. Many Soviet indologists made research of the problem both in their generalizing articles and the ones dealing with the analysis of separate authors.

The definition of different periods in the history of Indian literature as well as the research of its regularities is also a problem of great interest to the Soviet scholars. The articles published on this problem are : in Hindi literature —E. Chelishev, Marathi—V. Lamshukov, Punjabi—J. Serebryakov etc. This problem is close to the research on historical types in the literary process and to the correlation between Indian literature and the regularities of the world culture. In this connection the question may be asked whether there were in the history of Indian literature such epochs as Western Renaissance or Enlightenment. This problem is under animated discussion at the moment.

It is also very important to solve all these problems because now the Soviet indologists take part in writing the History of World Literature (in ten

volumes) where the world literary problems are treated theoretically. This is the reason why these problems are in the centre of research of Soviet scholars, it explains also their significance for the further profound study of correlation between Indian and Soviet literatures.

In this connection we can't help mentioning the series of brief essays on the history of Oriental literatures. As far as India is concerned the following essays have been published : "Ancient Indian Literature" (1963) and "Punjabi Literature" by J. Serebryakov, "Bengali Literature" (1965) by J. Tovstich, "Telugu Literature" (1967) by N. Gurov and Z. Petrunicheva, "Urdu Literature" by N. Glebov and A. Sukhochev (1965), "Indian Literature in Farsi" by G. Aliev (1968) and "Marathi Literature" by V. Lamshukov.

The further step in this direction will be writing the big academic works on the history of Indian regional literatures. This work will take many years and concentrated efforts of a great number of Soviet specialists.

An important feature of Soviet indology is the cooperation with Indian scholars. The broad Soviet-Indian scientific connections provide successful development of Soviet indology. The publication of such collective works, as for example, the jubilee book about Rabindranath Tagore (1961), the collected articles devoted to Ghalib's Centenary, some Soviet indologists' publications in India and vice versa, the participation of the scholars in Conferences held in India and Indian specialists' visits to the USSR—here are the forms of our fruitful scientific cooperation, that promote the further research of Indian literatures in the USSR. In the Soviet Union many Indian literatury critics, whom we have constant contacts with, are widely popular. These are Suniti Kumar Chatterji, V. Raghavan, Nagendra, Gopal Haldar, Abdul Alim, Ehtisham Husain, Prabhakar Machwe, A. A. Surur, Shivdan Sinh Chauhan, Namvar Sinh, K.M. George, Vanamamalai and many others.

The increase of theoretical level in the Soviet indologists' works, solution of some problems that may promote to avoid schematic scientific thinking or underestimating some important phenomena—these are the conditions which will guarantee successful developement of Soviet indology. Without these terms our literary criticism cannot develop on a necessary high level. We must also mention some problems raised recently in the works by Soviet indologists which cause animated discussions at present.

We may mention the problem of historical periods in Indian literature. This is a problem of specific peculiarity and commonness in each Indian literature and at the same time the main tendencies characterizing the literary process of India as a whole.

These are the problems of Indian antiquity, tendencies of Renaissance and Enlightenment, the specific nature of romanticism and realism in the Indian literature. At last it is a correspondence of various periods in Indian literature to the world literary process.

National specific features in each Indian literature and their reflection in fiction, as well as the problem of the Indian national temper should also be mentioned here as problems of importance.

Literary characters, forms and results of influence of the modern Western culture on the modern Indian literature, the display of so called "modernist" tendencies in the works by some Indian authors and the correlation of the Russian classics, of Soviet and Indian literatures—here are the problems which attract attention of Soviet indologists.

The fruitful study of Indian literature in the USSR would have been impossible without the success of Soviet scholars in the research of Indian languages. The dictionaries of the following languages have been published recently: Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Punjabi. The publication of brief essays on grammar is another important achievement. Besides many works on the problems of the accidence, syntax and lexicology were published too.

The Soviet linguists carry on the scientific description of grammar, history of languages, and make the comparative study of Indian vernaculars, The following important aspects of the national problem are being discussed : the language and the society, the linguistic construction, the correspondence between language and its dialects etc. Writing the standard text-books in main Indian languages is very important for the increase of level of the Indian phylology in the USSR. This promotes a better training of Soviet students—indologists.

A closer cooperation with Indian scholars is the main condition to our mind for this work to succeed.

We hope that this first book of collected articles by Indian and Soviet literary critics will serve the purpose to provide further close cooperation between the Indian and Soviet scholars.

'ADIVASI' LITERATURES OF INDIA

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

The Uncultivated 'Adivasi' Languages

India is a multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious country, and in spite of this diversity in racial type, speech and religious outlook there has been all through history for the last 3000 years a great tendency towards an integration of these diverse elements—integration into one single type which can be called *pan-Indian*. Of course, there has not been in many cases a complete assimilation. But the various elements have had their inter-play in the evolution of Indian life, culture and religion, as well as to a large extent of a common Indian physical type as much as of a common Indian mentality.

These four racio-linguistic groups have met and flourished in India—the *Austric*, the *Sino-Tibetan*, the *Dravidian*, and finally the *Aryan*. (It has been suggested by some that over and above these four groups, there might have been one or two more—there seems to be some evidence from linguistics for this idea. But nothing definitely has as yet been found out, and we are quite content to look upon these four groups as the basic ones in the Indian scene.)

Of these linguistic and cultural groups, the Aryan is the most important, both numerically and intrinsically. As a matter of fact, Indian civilisation has found its expression primarily through the Aryan speech as it developed through the centuries—through Vedic Sanskrit, then through Classical Sanskrit, then Early Middle Indo-Aryan dialects like Pali and Old Ardha-Magadhi, then Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit and after that the various Prakrits and Apabhramsas, and finally, in the last phase, of the different Modern Indo-Aryan languages of the country. After the Aryan speech, Dravidian has also very largely functioned as the exponent of Indian culture—particularly the earlier secular as well as religious literature of Tamil, which has some special characteristics of its own within the Indian orbit. The other two groups, Austric and Sino-Tibetan, do not show any high literary development—excepting in the case of two important speeches of the Sino-Tibetan groups, namely Newari of Nepal and Meithei or Manipuri of Manipur. These have quite respectable as well as interesting literatures which are fairly old, and some notes on these are necessary. The Lepcha language, spoken in the state of Sikkim and the district of Darjeeling, according to Robert Shafer, the great American authority on Sino-Tibetan languages, really belongs to the Naga group within the Sino-Tibetan family; and Lepcha had developed its own special alphabet with a small literature of Buddhistic inspiration (this alphabet has now become almost extinct).

All the other languages of the Sino-Tibetan family and also of the Austric family were in a backward state, as the speakers of these were in a comparatively primitive condition in their way of life. Of course, they had some kind of village or folk *culture*, but no *civilisation*. Connected with this culture there developed in all these languages a slight modicum of folk-literature—of songs, religious and otherwise, of folk-tales, and of their legends and traditions. These were

never written down as they lacked any system of writing. This the Aryan and Dravidian languages had possessed from very early times. A serious study of these Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages (with the exception of Newari and Manipuri, and of course of Chinese, Tibetan and Siamese) began only during the middle of the 19th century when European scholars—anthropologists and linguists—as well as European Christian missionaries of various denominations (like Roman Catholics from Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, England and Ireland, German Lutherans, Scandinavian Lutherans, English Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians, and Welsh Methodists) began to study these languages and take in hand the preparation of a Christian literature (both of translations from the Bible and other Christian sacred literature, and of original compositions to a small extent) for the purpose of converting these backward peoples into Christinaity. They succeeded in doing this to a very large extent, as these peoples were neglected by the Hindu ruling classes who had contact with them. Their non-developed languages without any old literature, however, are now fast becoming the languages of groups of people who are becoming self-conscious ; and as a result we have, during the 20th century, the beginnings of a kind of literature in some of the more important Austric and Sino-Tibetan languages which so long had no literature to boast of.

(*A*) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* : *their Classification, and the Literature available in them*

The Sino-Tibetan Speech-family extends over a very wide field in Central and Eastern Asia. As a matter of fact, some of the most important languages of Asia come within this family, which is completely independent of the other three which are also prevalant in India, viz., Aryan, Dravidian and Austric. The original Sino-Tibetan speech had as its *nidus* or area of characterisation the head-waters of the Hwang-Ho or Yellow River to the North-East of China. Here the original Sino-Tibetan speech, the ultimate source of Chinese (Ancient Chinese and its various modern forms), Tibetan and Burmese, and possibly also Siamese, had taken its form, at least 3000 years before Christ. At present there is some diversity of opinion regarding the place of Siamese within this family—some modern scholars think that Siamese is not really a member of this family, but it is a language of another family of speech known as the Kadai family (this family now includes a few insignificant dialects of South China and Hainan Island as well as Indo-China, and it appears to be connected with the Austric or Malayo-Polynesian speeches) which has been most profoundly influenced by Sino-Tibetan. Apart from Chinese, and Siamese (which latter is now looked upon as problemetical), there are a large number of other speeches belonging to this family ; and in India, these belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, and are spoken all through the sub-Himalayan tracts, particularly in Nepal, North Bengal, parts of East Bengal, as well as in Assam. All the languages spoken by the Sino-Tibetans in India, with the single exception of Ahom, the old language spoken by the Ahom conquerors of Assam, which is now entirely extinct, and Singpho or Kachin, belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch. The Tibeto-Burman languages of India have been further divided into these groups, namely Bodo-Naga, Kuki-Chin, Mikir, Abor-Miri, Aka, Dafla and Singpho. As said before, with the exception of Manipuri, which belongs to the Kuki-Chin group, and Newari, which is a sub-Himalayan form of Tibeto-Burman, none out of the quite a large number of sub-Himalayan dialects of the same Tibeto-Burman group, has important literatures. The other languages,

until recently, possessed no written literature,—they had only some songs and poems, religious and otherwise, and some folk-tales, stories and legends in prose, all current orally. The modern literature which had started under European and an Christian inspiration is not as yet of any value.

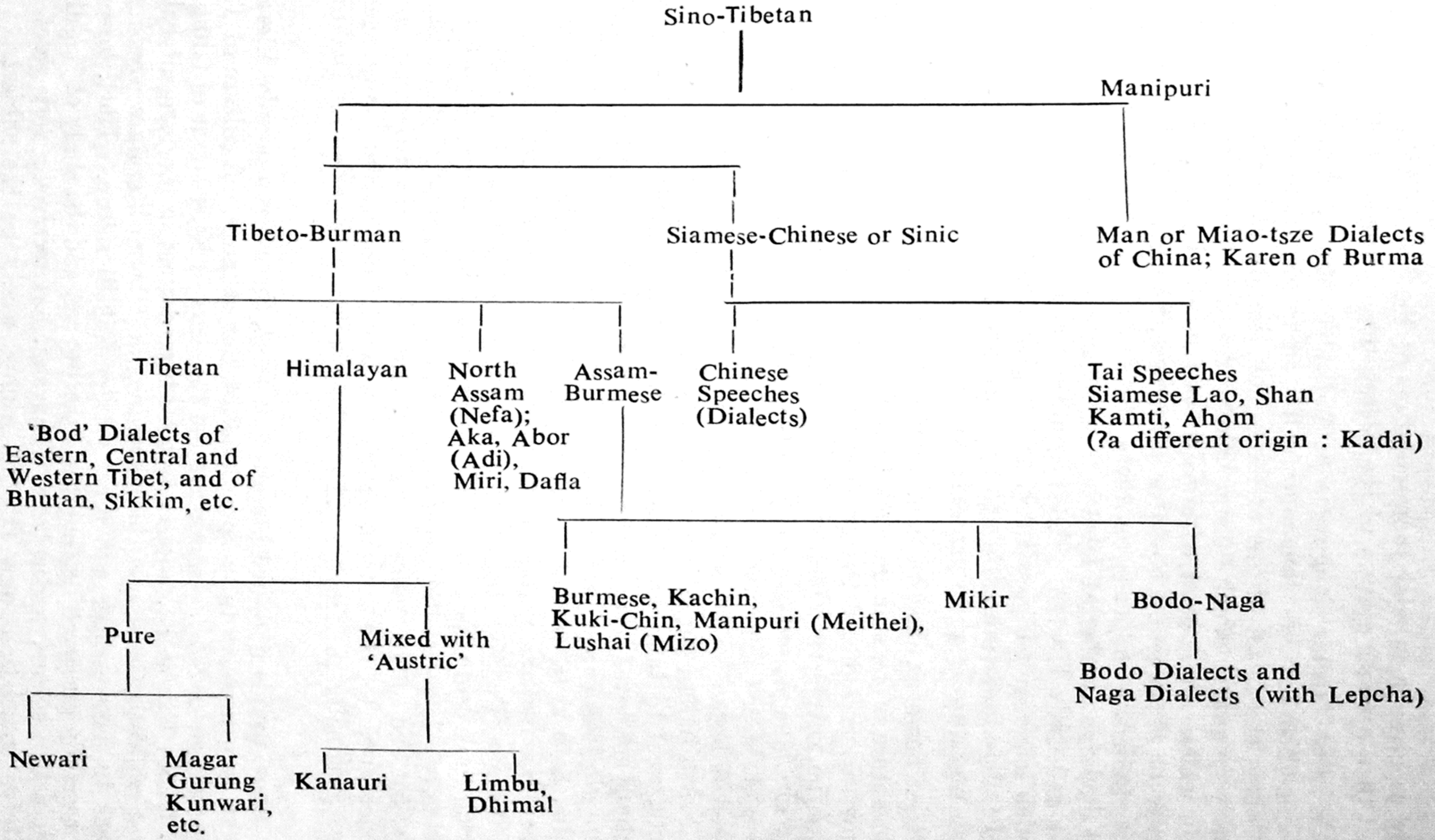
Below is given a tabular representation of the Sino-Tibetan speeches of India, and then a consideration of the literatures of Newari and Meithei only.

Of the Sino-Tibetan languages as indicated above, Tibetan, Burmese, Chinese and Siamese are languages with advanced literatures, particularly Chinese, which can boast of one of the richest literatures in the world. These are properly languages which do not belong to India. There are some dialects of Tibetan which are current within the boundaries of India, like for example Den-jong-ke or Sikkimese, Lho-ke or Bhutanese, Sherpa, Lahuli, and Ladakhi. Tibetan is studied in India among these peoples, particularly the classical form of it, and the large number of Tibetan refugees escaping from the Chinese regime also speak and study Tibetan. But it would not be correct to look upon Tibetan as an Indian language *par excellance*, and to give a history of Tibetan literature as part of Indian literature, although the influence of Buddhism in the evolution of Tibetan literature is quite properly within the purview of Indian studies.

Tibetan, however, has quite an extensive literature, and the beginnings of written literature in Tibetan go back to the middle of the 7th century A.D. It was during this period that the greatest ruler of Tibet in ancient times, Srong-btsan-sgam-po, ruled over Tibet, and he was converted to Buddhism. He married a princess of China as well as a princes of Nepal, and he had in this way intimate relations with both China and India. Buddhism was accepted by the Ruling House, and it began to spread rapidly. The Tibetan alphabet was developed out of a North Indian script during this period, and a Tibetan scholar, Thon-mi Sam-bhota, went to India and he adopted the Indian alphabet and with a few modifications employed it for Tibetan. In this way Tibetan as a literary language started its glorious career, and it became a great repository of Buddhist texts from India, both in translations from Sanskrit and other Indian languages and in commentaries written both in India and in Tibet. The entire mass of canonical (Mahayana) Buddhist literature in Tibetan is preserved in two great collections which took centuries to develop through the joint labours of both Indian and Tibetan scholars—(i) *Bkah-Hgyur* (*Kanjur*) or translations of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit and other Indian originals, and (ii) the *Bstan-Hgyur* (*Tan-jur*) or commentaries to the above, either rendered from Indian languages or composed originally in Tibetan. These have a very great value for Buddhistic studies.

But prior to this Buddhist literature in Tibet, there was a popular literature which gave an expression to the pre-Buddhist *Bon* religion and culture of Tibet. The *National Epic of Tibet*, centering round the story of King Gesar of Gling and his wife, Queen Hbrug-mo, appears to have been current in the form of ballads from pre-Buddhistic times, and the beginnings of Tibetan literature would seem to go back to these ballads and other similar folk-literature. Tibet, however, has very carefully preserved its Buddhist inheritance ; and the study of Buddhism and Buddhist literature, particularly Mahayana, has received a very great help from Tibetan translations and Tibetan original works on the subject.

The *Lamas* (*bla-ma*) or Tibetan Buddhist monks developed a great tradition of learning, and helped to develop Buddhist philosophy for the whole of


Sino-Tibetan
Manipuri
Tibeto-Burman
Siamese-Chinese or Sinic
Man or Miao-tsze Dialects of China; Karen of Burma
Tibetan
Himalayan
North Assam (Nefa); Aka, Abor (Adi), Miri, Dafla
Assam-Burmese
Chinese Speeches (Dialects)
Tai Speeches Siamese Lao, Shan Kamti, Ahom (?a different origin : Kadai)
'Bod' Dialects of Eastern, Central and Western Tibet, and of Bhutan, Sikkim, etc.
Burmese, Kachin, Kuki-Chin, Manipuri (Meithei), Lushai (Mizo)
Mikir
Bodo-Naga
Bodo Dialects and Naga Dialects (with Lepcha)
Pure
Mixed with 'Austric'
Newari
Magar Gurung Kunwari, etc.
Kanauri
Limbu, Dhimal

the Buddhist world through their writings in Tibetan, both in abstruse philosophy and devotion, and in some of the technical sciences : and this was under Sanskrit and other Indian auspices.

In addition to the Buddhist literature of Indian origin (as in the *Tanjur* and *Kanjur*), Tibetan boasts of a number of historical chronicles of very great value, and also some religious and mystic poetry like the writings of Milarepa. In modern times Tibetan also is trying to forge ahead, but there has been now a very great set-back through the present unfortunate political situation in Tibet when before the onslaught of Chinese communism Tibetan Buddhist culture seems to be doomed. A small selection of poems from Rabindranath Tagore (by Suniti Kumar Pathak) is also now available in Tibetan translation.

With regard to dialects of Tibetan which are current in India, there is not much literature at the present day, although Bhutan as an independent country may be expected to create some modern literature.

Burmese is quite an important language, and some dialects of Burmese are spoken in the South-Eastern fringe of Bengal, like Arakanese, and there were settled groups of Arakan people within Bengal. Burmese literature started its career from the 11th century, and the oldest Burmese text which is in the form of an inscription goes back to about 1050 during the rule of Burma's great King Anuruddha or Aniruddha (Anowrahta). It was during his time that the Burmese language received its alphabet from the Mon or Talaing people of Central and South Burma (the Mons were Austro-Asiatic, and it was they who became the transmitters of Indian Buddhism and Indian civilisation and culture, including the Indian alphabet, to the Burmese, having themselves received them from Indians). Burmese literature also is based on Buddhistic texts, and there is a rich mass of translations from Pali and from Sanskrit into Burmese. In certain departments of literature like the Drama, Burmese had its own creations of importance, but the earlier literature right down to the 19th century was mostly religious, and to some extent romantic. In this early literature, basically pre-Buddhistic, there are the tales about the 37 *Nats* or Gods and Demi-gods and Heroes, and there has been a considerable Buddhist influence on these tales too. Some of the earlier Burmese dramas with a fairy-tale quality are quite beautiful. Burmese is now trying to forge ahead like a modern civilised language. In any case Burmese literature does not belong to India.

The same can be said about Thai (Siamese) literature. Siamese started its literary career from the 13th century, when the great Dai or Thai king ruling in North Siam, in the city of Sukhodaya, King Rama Gamhaeng, adopted the Cambodian alphabet for his mother-tongue Thai or Siamese, and had a long inscription carved which is the earliest document we have in Siamese, c. 1292 A.D. Modern Siamese is quite an extensive literature, not only religious i.e. Buddhistic and to some extent Brahmanical (the *Rama-kien* i.e. the *Rama-kin* or *Rama-kirtti*, the Siamese version of the *Ramayana* is an important book of Siamese), and besides there is a rich literature of romances and fairy stories as well as what may be called novels of love and fighting, and intrigue and adventure. Modern Siamese also boasts of a fairly extensive literature.

One language allied to Siamese, namely Ahom, was current in Assam. But by the beginning of the 19th century Ahom gradualy died out. The Ahoms have finally become Hindus, but some of the priests of their old religion kept up some traces of the old pre-Hindu Ahom religion. The Ahoms brought

their own system of writing from North Burma. This writing is ultimately of Indian origin, and there are manuscripts in the Ahom language in this alphabet. Old Ahom coins of Assam have legends in the Ahom language in this script. The Ahom people had a great historical sense, and the modern Assamese word for 'History' in the Aryan Assamese language, which is a sister of Bengali, is *Buranji* which is an Ahom word—the Sanskrit word *Itihasa* is not so current. Some of the Ahom *Buranjis* have been published by the British Government, and one may particularly mention an important Ahom history of Assam printed in the Ahom character with an English translation by Rai Bahadur Golap Chandra Barua, published in 1903. Since the Ahom speech is now extinct, only some old men here and there keeping up a smattering knowledge of a few Ahom words and phrases, it has ceased to have any literary development.

As said before, in the Tibeto-Burman family in India only two languages developed important literatures. They are *Newari* of Nepal and *Manipuri* or *Meithei* of Manipur.

Newari

(1) *Newari :* Newari is the most important and most cultivated Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. It is spoken in the valley of Nepal, and its four centres are the cities of Kathmandu, the present capital of Nepal, and Patan or Lalita Patan, Kirtipur, and Bhatgaon. Kathmandu is now the centre of the Nepali or Khaskura-speaking Gurkhas, and Newari has been very much under the influence of this Khaskura language which is the official language of the Hindu Gurkha kingdom of Nepal. The word *Nepala* itself, of unknown origin (very likely Tibeto-Burman), was the original name of the Nepal valley, and the word *Newar* is a modern transformation of this form *Nepala*, or *Nepal*, which seems to have been current some 1500 years ago. From *Nepala* we have *Newar*, and now this word is commonly written as *Newah*. The present day Newars call this language *Nepala-bhasa*. The Tibeto-Burman people of this Nepal valley seem to have been very much mixed up with Aryan speakers from the south, and we have, like the present-day Gurkhas, quite early in the history of Nepal the evolution of some mixed Tibeto-Burman-Aryan tribes or peoples, who called themselves Kshatriyas but who evidently were mixed Aryo-Mongoloids, in race and speech and culture. Thus we have in North Bihar the Vrijjis or Vajjis, the Licchavis and the Sakyas or Koliyas, in the Nepal-Mithila border and also in the interior of Nepal. These peoples, very largely of Tibeto-Burman origin with an Aryan veneer in the upper classes, developed a mixed language which was Aryan in its basis, although very largely Tibeto-Burman in syntax and vocabulary. But they had come within the orbit of Indian civilisation and thought-world both Brahmanical and Buddhist. Some of the remoter tribes had maintained their Tibeto-Burman language, which was an earlier form of the present-day Newari. But this language became saturated with Sanskrit and other Aryan elements. They became followers of Buddhism at least from the time of Asoka. They studied Sanskrit and Pali and other Aryan languages, and their greatest contribution to the culture of India was that this ancient Nepala or Newar people has been instrumental in preserving large masses of Mahayana Buddhist literature in what is known as Hybrid Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit. This literature is not found in other parts of India, and it was very largely translated into the languages of the various Mahayana Buddhist peoples Chinese and Japanese, Tibetan and Mongol. King Amsu-varman of Nepal, who ruled about 650 A.D., had close connection with both Tibet and China.

His daughter Bhrikuti was married to the Tibetan king Srongbtsan-sgam-po. As already Nepal had become as land of Indian culture, there are Sanskrit inscriptions which are found in Nepal from this period onwards.

The masses of the people in Nepal valley unquestionably spoke Newari. But there is no literature in Newari preserved which goes back beyond the second half of the 14th century. We have the oldest specimen of a Newari text dating from 1360 A.D., which is given in the Nepal era. The previous history of Newari for over 2000 years is virtually a blank, although the Newari people studied Sanskrit and preserved a Sanskrit literature in the ancient East Indian script—the Kutila. We have however evidence of quite a flourishing literature in later times in Newari from a whole range of manuscripts which have come down to us, dating from the last quarter of the 17th century. All these manuscripts, as much as manuscripts in Sanskrit, are written in the same old Newari script, which is almost identical with that of Mithila, Assam and Bengal and of Orissa in the earliest period.

The oldest book in Newari so far found is a historical one, being a *Vamsavali* or Genealogy of Kings, and this is found in a manuscript on palm-leaf, in three parts, which goes back to 1388 A.D. This Newari work, although utilised by scholars in the Ms., has not yet been published. Later adaptations of this *Vamsavali* in both Newari and the Aryan Khas-kura are available. But there is no good edition. The oldest Newari text so far available in print is the *Vicitra-Karnikavadanoddhrta*, edited and published in Roman transcription with an English Translation and Glossary and Index, by the Danish scholar Hans Joergensen from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in London in the year 1931. This is a Newari translation of a Mahayana Buddhist work on Buddhist legends. The ms. used dates only from 1873, but the work is considerably older and may be of the 17th century. Long before the publication of this work, we have August Conrady's *Sanskrit-Newari Dictionary* published in the German Oriental Society's Journal (ZDMG), from Berlin in 1893. This is the first considerable work on Newari. In 1936, Hans Joergensen brought out from Copenhagen his *Dictionary of Classical Newari*, (pp. 1-13, 17-178); and then he published from Copenhagen an edition of the *Vetala-pancavimsati* as preserved in a ms. dating from 1674, printed in Roman characters some time after 1936. Other early texts in Newari in manuscripts from the end of the 17th century to recent years in the 19th century consist mostly of translations from Sanskrit works—Buddhist Mahayana texts, as well as of some Sanskrit works like the *Narada Smrti*, the *Hitopadesa*, and the *Madana-Vinoda*, which is a religious romance, the *Canakya-sarasangraha*, the *Vaidyanga* or a book on Ayurvedic Medicine, the *Suka-saptati* or the Seventy Tales told by a Parrot. A full inventory of early Newari literature, and a study of the works available in it, have not yet been made.

After the conquest of the valley of Nepal including its four beautiful cities of Kantipur or Kathmandu, Kirtipur, Patan or Lalita-patan, and Bhatgaon, during the second half of the 18th century, by the Hindu Gorkhas under their king Prithwi Bir Bikram Sah from Palpa in Western Nepal, the Buddhist Newars, who were the original people of Central Nepal and who had built up the culture of Nepal, suffered from a great check and they were placed under a number of disabilities. Their Mahayana and Tantrika Buddhism was not interfered with, but all patronage to their language and its literature was stopped, and Khas-kura, or Nepali or Gorkhali, an Aryan speech allied to Hindi, as the official and

home language of the conquerors, came to have a predominance over all the Tibeto-Burman Hill Speeches. Literature in Newari, even though it was the most advanced speech of Nepal all through, languished for nearly 200 years. Its own script was never cast in type, and Nagari, in which Gorkhali is written and printed, took up its place. Towards the end of the rule of the Rana family in Nepal (1846-1951), there was even an attempt among some sections of the ruling Gorkhas to suppress and if possible to stamp out Newari. No Newari was taught in schools, and no Newari books were allowed to be printed ; and even Newari songs were tabooed in public.

After the restoration of the Royal Family of Nepal, the Sah Dynasty—and the removal of the all-powerful family of the Prime Minister (the Ranas) from the scene, by 1955 Newari with other Tibeto-Burman languages came to its own. Newari began to be taught in schools and colleges, and was recognised in the University of Kathmandu (Tribhuvan University) as a language at par with Gorkhali or Parbatiya, Maithili, Hindi etc.; and as a principal language in the B.A. (Pass and Honours) and M.A., courses were started in Newari. Newari books and papers began to be published without any difficulty. The result was that a number of Newari books have begun to come out, and we have now a *Modern Phase of Newari Literature* which has been taken up quite enthusiastically by some of the educated Newari people. Present-day or Current Newari literature follows in the main the general trend of literature in Parbatiya and Hindi and Bengali, only there are books on Buddhism, both Hinayana and Mahayana, which are being brought out in Newari as its speakers are mostly Buddhist. The first great writer in Newari in the present age was the poet Siddhi-das (1867-1929), who was greatly influenced by the literary and cultural renaissance in India. He visited Benares and Calcutta, and came particularly under the influence of Swami Vivekananda. His best works are *Sajjan-hriday* and *Sarva-bandhu*. Among present-day Newari writers one person can be singled out : he is a very distinguished poet, and also an outstanding prose writer of Newari, Sri Chittadhar Upasak ('Hriday'). He is one of the leaders of the present-day Newari revival in literature. Some 11 volumes of poems (of which some like the *Degah* or Pagoda have English translations), besides short stories, essays, one-act dramas etc. from his works, have been published, and his most important work so far is a long epic or narrative poem (*mahakavya*) in a devotional and romantic vein on the life of the Buddha—the *Sugata-Saurabha* (Nepal Year 1069—1942 A.D.). This is a poem of about 7000 lines, in 19 cantos, with illustrations by the Newari artist Chandrabhan Maske, and it gives in beautiful modern Newari the life of Buddha as based on the *Lalita-Vistara* and other Buddhist Sanskrit texts. His other poetical works are very well known. He visited China, and he published a fine book on his Chinese travels (*Mahācine Nepala-Samskrti*) in Newari in 1958.

Other Newari writers are coming to the forefront. There is a *Nepal Bhasha Parishad* for the development of Newari literature in Kathmandu. Over 30 books have already been published by the Parishad, and one of these is the *Nepal-Bhasaya Nahli Kavita* or 'Poems of Today in the Newar Speech' (1958), giving poems from 21 men and women poets of Newari, with English translation and biographical notes. Tirtharaj Tuladhar is a prominet writer of prose. His *Akhe* is a volume of 29 short stories from different national literatures of the world, translated from English versions (published Nepal Year 1085 A.D. 1968). The position of Newari as one among the many modern Indian languages is

now assured, and we can look forward to its development and still greater development in literature.

(2) Among other Himalayan languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, the most important are the Tibetan dialects which are spoken in Sikkim and Bhutan. The Sikkim dialect is known as *Denjong-ke* and the Bhutan dialect as *Lho-ke*. They are modifications of the *U* (Dbus) or Lhasa speech. There is not much original literature in this, as the speakers are conscious of their dialects being just a form of Tibetan, and Tibetan is generally studied and cultivated.

(3) The Lepcha dialect is current in the state of Sikkim and in Darjeeling district. Till recently its immediate affinities were not known, but now it has been connected by Robert Shafer with the distant Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman speech-family in the east of Assam. But the general history and development of this branch of Tibeto-Burman are not clear. The Lepchas were mainly Buddhists, although many of them have now become Christians. The Lepcha monks, in the Tibetan tradition, have a distinctive literature of Buddhist religious texts and law books. The Christian missionaries have also translated portions of the Bible, and they have sought to create a literature of Christian hymns, side by side with Buddhist hymns. Lepcha has an alphabet of its own which is now falling into disuse. It was evidently inspired by the Tibetan script, but it is rather different from it. King Chakdor Namgye of Sikkim, born in 1686, is said to have created this alphabet out of a patriotic Lepcha feeling. The Lepchas are now on the decline, and they are merging among the Hindu Nepalis as well as other neighbouring peoples, and their literary life is almost at a stand-still.

(4) The Kirantis, the Rais and other tribes of Eastern Nepal have got a little oral or folk literature. An interesting work is the collection of Kiranti religious and mythological tradition which has been published under the title of *Kirat-Mundhum* or *Kirat-ko Veda*, i.e. the Religious and Social as well as Historical Traditions and Usages of the Kiranti people, collected in the Kiranti language and published in the Nagari character with a Nepali (Gorkhali) translation from Patna in 1971 by Iman Singh Chemjong, B.A. (pages 108).

Other Himalayan dialects have no literature worth mentioning.

Manipuri (*Meithei*)

(5) Among the remaining Tibeto-Burman languages, the most important, and in literature certainly of much greater importance than Newari, is the *Meithei* or *Manipuri* language. Manipuri is the official language of the State of Manipur, and for quite a long time it has been recognised by the University of Calcutta,—it was given a place in the curriculum of that University from the Matriculation to the Intermediate and right up to B.A. examination, Pass and Honours. The same recognition has been given to it by the University of Gauhati, so that Manipuri is a language which has an important status as a language of study and culture. At the present-day Manipuri is written in the Bengali-Assamese script—it is virtually the Bengali script, with one letter recently taken over from Assamese—the letter for *w*. Manipur had quite a separate alphabet of its own, which is found in old manuscripts, and it has also been put in type. But books are no longer printed in this old Manipuri script, the study of which has become a specialised subject for scholars and experts. From

the time of King Gharib Newaz Singh of Manipur (1709-1748), the Manipuri people, through the influence of the Bengali Vaishnavas of Chaitanya School from Navadwip and Sylhet, accepted the Bengali script for their language (c. 1740), and now this has become fully established. This has enabled Manipuri to come in intimate touch with Bengali in its literature, and with Sanskrit. There is an attempt on the part of a small number of Manipuri patriots to revive the use of the old Manipuri script. But as it is a rather complicated system of writing, it does not seem to receive much support from the people.

The Manipuris, a Meithei people, became Hindus at least 2000 years ago ; and in Manipur chronicles, which are mostly preserved in the Old Manipuri language and in the older script, we have a fairly detailed history of the Manipuri kings and their Hindu background. But early Manipuri literature prior to the middle of the 18th century is more or less a sealed book to the Manipuri public. Only Manipuri scholars—*Pandits*, who specialised in the language—know about this speech, the vocabulary of which is now quite archaic, and quite different from modern Manipuri. There are books like the *Numit-kappa*, narrating some old Manipuri legends, and there is a rich literature of chronicles as well as works on the movements of the tribes, in Manipur, which are all preserved in the Old Manipuri language. The *Manipuri Sahitya Parishad* and some individual scholars are doing very valuable work in bringing out editions of these books in the current Bengali-Assamese script, with translations or notes in modern Manipuri.

The beginnings of this Old Manipuri literature (as in the case of Newari) may go back to 1500 years, or even 2000 years, from now. It is said that there is a copper-plate inscription, of King Khongtekcha, invoking Sri Hari (i.e. Vishnu with Lakshmi), Siva and Devi, dating from 721 Saka = c.790 A.D. But that is problematical, as the king is said to have ruled the Meitheis from 763 to 773 A.D. The late Yumjao Singh thought that the *Poiraiton Khunthok*, a prose-work describing the settlement of some Meithei tribes, is the oldest work in Manipuri, going back to the 3rd century A.D. A rich literary tradition is said to have existed during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. The *Cheitharol Kumbaba* is one of the oldest Manipuri Court Chronicles (*Kumbaba—kum* means 'year', now obsolete, and *baba* or *paba* means 'accounts'). This gives a traditional history of Manipur from the second century A.D. onwards. The *Numit-kappa*, as mentioned before, gives us some old pre-Hindu mythological tales.

It may be said that this early Manipuri literature, although it is fairly extensive, has not as yet been scientifically studied, and we are not sure about the dates when the individual works, as available now, were first written or compiled. As a preliminary step, full lists of these books of Early Manipuri are being prepared and published by Manipuri scholars. But we know that the sixteenth century A.D. was a great period for the development of Manipuri prose literature of histories and chronicles. The *Nugban Pombi Luwaoba* narrates the legendary history of the hero after whom the book is named, and of his beloved wife Koubru Namyno. This legend relates the story of the restoration to life of Koubru, the Gods being moved by the love of the husband for his departed wife.

The *Leithak Leikharon* gives an account of the Manipuri story of the creation. This book deals with the history of the Meithei Gods and Goddesses, and the songs and dances connected with them. In certain parts of this work,

which is very distinctive, there are lists of the Muslim Pathan kings of Bengal, which shows that it is rather late in origin.

The *Chainarol* gives us a collection of some romantic and heroic stories of ancient times in the history of Manipur.

The 'National Romantic legend of Manipur'—the great love-story of Prince Khamba and Princess Thoibi, which, after a happy union of the two lovers ended in a tragedy,—began to be treated in Old Meithei ballads from the middle of the twelfth century. The lovers lived about 1130 A.D. during the rule of King Loyamba. These ballads used to be sung by wandering minstrels to the accompaniment of the one-stringed fiddle called the *pena*, and this old body of romantic ballads was later treated into the great epic romance of 34,000 lines by a modern Meithei poet, the late Hijom Anganghal Singh, about 1940.

The *Ningthouron Lambuba* is a historical work giving an account of the military expansions of the kings of Manipur. It is in a way a book which supplements the *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. A most interesting work is the romantic tale of prince Nompokninghou and princess Panthoibi, the daughter of King Ching-Ningthou. They fell violently in love with each other, and although Panthoibi was later on married to a chief named Khaba, her husband was frightened of her, and never dared approach her. The lovers met, but their career was cut short. This story has been sublimated as a religious myth—the hero was considered to be an incarnation of Siva, and Panthoibi was Parvati incarnate, and it was a case of *parakiya* love as between Krishna and Radha which is a very vital mystico-philosophical doctrine with Gaudiya Vaishnavism of Navadwip, which again is the accepted from of Vaishnavism in Manipur. This work, in Old Manipuri, of unknown date, has been published with translation in Modern Manipuri.

There are similar other books in Manipuri which mostly go back to the times before the beginning of Gaudiya Vaishnava influence from Bengal and the influence from North India through the Ramanandi *sadhu* missionaries, from the beginning of the 18th century.

From the reign of Gharib Newaz (c. 1740), a new period began in the history of Manipur, and in Manipuri literature also. The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, as the most popular and in a way the most important texts of Hinduism, began to be rendered into Manipuri. Manipuri adopted a version of the *Ramayana* from the Bengali work of Krittivas. Portions of the *Mahabharata*—the Adi, the Virata and the Aswamedha Parvans, were also rendered into Manipuri. The older literary tradition suffered from a set-back, owing to the ill-conceived action of the Ramanandi missionary Santadas Babaji, whose vandalism in getting together and burning a number of Old Manipuri mss. appears to have received the support of Gharib Newaz ; and this continued during the 18th century. But a few books in the old style were still written. One of these is a book known as the *Langan*. It is of the nature of *niti*-literature, in Sanskrit, and has been recently published.

King Bhagya Chandra Singha of Manipur (c. 1780) brought in a great Vaishnava revival. One might say that the confluence of the early period and the modern characterised Manipuri literature took place during the second half of the 18th century. There were books in a new *genre* or style like travel-books (e.g. the work describing the pilgrimage of King Bhagya Chandra), and

genealogical works also came into being. King Bhagya Chandra with the help of his daughter, who was a great devotee of Krishna (she has been called the 'Mira Bai' of Manipur), sublimated Manipuri folk-dance (the *Laiharaoba*, a Dance of Creation) into an emotional and a religious creation of a very high artistic and spiritual beauty and merit which has now been accepted by the rest of India —the *Manipuri Rasa*. Treatises on Manipuri dance and music were compiled in both Sanskrit and Manipuri.

There are also Old Manipuri texts on Medicine and Medicinal Herbs of Manipur, as well as Tantric works on the cure of diseasess, besides works on Astrology. These all show Brahmanical Hindu inspiration and influence.

There is a sort of a national archive for the most exalted families of Manipur, which is preserved in the court of the Maharaja of Manipur—thə *Sangai Phamang*, which is regularly brought up-to-date. It is of great historical value for Manipur.

A syncretism of the old Pre-Hindu Meithei religion, mythology and ritual with the Hindu Brahmanical (Puranic) religion, mythology and ritual started very early ; and with the friendly co-operation of the *Maibas* and *Maibis* (priests and priestesses of the Old Meithei religion) on the one hand and the Brahmans and Vaishnavas on the other for some centuries, gave to Manipur its own distinctive form of Hinduism. Dance as a ritual became a very beautiful expression of it. Old Meithei Gods and Goddesses and their myths were identified with Puranic deities and myths, and Puranic and Vaishnava ideologies were assimilated.

The first Secondary (i.e. High English) School was founded by Major-General James Johnstone, and was reorganised and fully established at Imphal in 1891, and it was later on affiliated to the University of Calcutta, until the establishment of the University of Gauhati in 1924. Meithei boys reading in this school followed the curriculum of Calcutta University, which had made Sanskrit a compulsory subject (in addition to the mother-tongue) for all Hindu students. Thus more than two generations at least of Manipuri school-boys had to know some Sanskrit. There was a very deep religious faith among the Manipuris for the Vaishnava philosophy and way of life, and in the Hinduism as inculcated in the Puranas ; and this, with the help of the Sanskrit Pandits, and also the Bengali-Assamese Script of Manipuri, helped to make modern Meithei or Manipuri literature and culture entirely Sanskrit-oriented, almost as much as Bengali, Assamese and Hindi.

The modern period of Manipuri really came into existence with the beginning of the 19th century, after English education had found a place among the Manipuri people. European officials and missionaries who came to Manipur, and Bengali teachers, helped the Manipuris to build a new literature in their language—men like the Rev. W. Pettigrew, Mr. Wince, Babu Ramsundar Roy, and educated Manipuris like Makar Singh, Munal Singh, Jatiswar Singh and Haodijam Chaitanya Singh came forward. The first Manipuri book to be printed was a *History of Manipur*, which came out in 1890 in the Bengali script, and at first the new literature in Manipur could consist only of text-books in different subjects. Then with the growth of a school-educated class, other types of literature came in. Maharaja Churachand Singh (1891-1941) was a great patron of Manipuri literature. New books are being written and published in all sorts of subjects, including most of the common types of literature. And a

special aspect of modern Manipuri literature is its wealth of translations from Sanskrit. In this matter, Manipuri will be the envy of many other languages of modern India which are spoken by millions of people.

The *Manipuri Sahitya Parishad* has published a list of Manipuri books printed from 1891 to 1969 : the total number of titles comes up to 1078. It has been claimed that the number can easily come to 2000, as the list is not complete. The subjects include Manipuri History, Hindu Religion and Philosophy, Translations (from Sanskrit, from Bengali, from English), Biographies, old Manipuri Culture and Institutions, Social Sciences (Politics, Education, Law), Grammar and Linguistics (including study of Sanskrit Grammar and Rhetoric and Prosody), the Art of the Dance, Music, General Works on Literature including History of Literature, Fiction (Novels and Short Stories), Poetry, Anthologies, Literary Criticism, Scientific Fiction, Essays, Juvenile and Children's Literature, Humour, Geography, Autobiographies, Indology, Handicrafts and Technology, Sexual Science, and Miscellaneous. Thus most of the departments of literature which are found in any advanced language are represented in Manipuri, and works of creative literature like Poetry and Fiction are quite in abundance.

It would perhaps be most convenient for our purpose to give the names of the most outstanding personalities in Manipuri literature in its modern period covering half a century. First of all I give the names of the great translators, from Sanskrit and Bengali in the first instance, and then from English. It was they who transformed the mind and spirit of the Manipuris by extending the horizon of their literary experience, and made them familiar with some of the greatest things in Indian literature, ancient and modern. They brought the Manipuris in line with the rest of advanced India in their thought and ideas and aspirations.

The greatest name in the history of Manipuri literature, particularly in this line is that of Panditaraja Phurailatpam Atombapu Sarma Sahityaratna (1878-1963).He was great in so many departments of life and letters—great as a Sanskrit scholar who made translations into Manipuri of a number of outstanding religious and other texts from the Language of the Gods (like the *Bhagavata-Purana* and the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the *Gita-govinda*, *Gopala-sahasra-nama*, the *Markandeya-Candi*, the entire *Sarasvata* Grammar of Sanskrit with a Meithei commentary, portions of the Rigveda, besides any number of religious and ritualistic texts). Over and above this he brought out interpretations and editions of Old Manipuri texts on history, literature and the dance, and general works on Sanskrit and Manipuri culture. He was a giant among scholars, and at the same time he was a religious teacher, an educationist, a great publisher of works in Manipuri, and a political leader who led his people in the path of freedom from both British interference and Manipuri medievalism. His illustrious example was followed by other scholars, like Chingangbam Kalachand Singh who brought out his Manipuri translation of the entire Sanskrit *Mahabharata* (together with the Sanskrit text) in 21 volumes, besides other works, and a long poem of 12,000 lines on the life of Krishna (*Vasudeva-Carita*). Haobam Iboyaima Singh, a veteran scholar, translated all the writings of the Bengali poet Michael Madhusudan Datta, besides some of the works of Sarat Chandra Chatterji, and a good many Sanskrit works. Apart from these three names, there are dozens of other scholars who made Sanskrit and Bengali literature in their most important works available in Manipuri. One can read the Bengali philosophical

classic of Vaishnavism, Krishnadas Kaviraja's *Caitanya-Caritamrita*, as well as most of the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, a good many of those by Sarat Chandra Chatterji and of other famous writers of Bengali (including a recent literary celebrity like *Jarasandha*) in Manipuri. So Shakespeare and Ibsen, Tolstoy and Prem Chand, Vivekananda and Gandhi, Rabindranath and Kalidasa, can at least in some of their important works be read in Manipuri. (A fine translation, by a number of scholars and poets, of a representative selection of poems, songs, dramas and stories from Rabindranath Tagore into Manipuri—the *Rabindra Nacom*, has recently been published by the *Sahitya Akademi* of Delhi).

In creative literature, the following are the most important names. In fiction (novels and short stories) : Dr. Lamabam Kamal Singh, whose romantic-realistic social novel *Madhavi* published in the thirties of this century, was a pioneer work ; Hijom Anganghal Singh (1894-1939), who was great as a poet (his epic-romantic poem on the love-story of Khamba and Thoibi in 34000 lines, c. 1940, has been mentioned before—the *Khamba Thoibi Shoireng*—he has other volumes of poetry also), and who also wrote some fine novels (one of which, *Jahera*, is on the theme of the love between a Manipuri Hindu young man and a Muslim girl), as well as some dramas (*Ibemma* etc.) ; R.K. Shitaljit Singh, author of some novels with a moral and religious purpose like the *Thadokpa*, besides the *Ima* and *Rohini* ; Khwairakpam Chaoba Singh (his historical novel of *Labangalata* dealing with the period 1597-1652 A.D. is quite popular) ; Hijom Guno Singh, a living writer (his four novels are very popular) ; Srimati Takhellabam Thoibi Devi (authoress of *Radha*, a romantic novel) ; K. Elengbam Rajani Kanta Singh (author of *Marup Ani*) ; Sansenbam Nadiya-Chand Singh ; Khnmantham Ibohal Singh ; and quite a number of others. Want of space prevents the mention of other novelists and short-story writers of note who are making Manipuri literature quite rich, including the group of fine translators of works of fiction from Bengali, English and other languages (e.g. Ayekpam Syam-sundar Singh, translator of the novels of Bankim Chandra).

The drama is a literary form particularly dear to the heart of the Manipuris. In Imphal city, with a population not exceeding 2 lacs, there are half of a dozen regular play-houses where plays in Manipuri (original dramas, or translations or adaptations from Bengali and English) are regularly shown—the cinema, numbering also half a dozen, has not been as yet able to kill off the regular stage. Eminent dramatists and histrionic artists have come into existence. The first plays were adapted from Bengali ; and it was only in 1905 that the first Manipuri drama, by a Bengali school-teacher, the *Pagolini*, was staged. Among noted playwrights are Sorokhaibam Lalit Singh, Mayanglambam Bir-mangal Singh (author of over a dozen plays, based, like the *Pidonnu*, on Old Manipur history and life, and also on Puranic as well as modern themes), Tongbram Gitchandra Singh (over two dozen plays, including some translations from Shakespeare, G. Bernard Shaw and Henrik Ibsen), Maibam Ramcharan Singh (some 20 plays), Haobam Tomba Singh, Lairenmayum Ibungohal Singh, Raj-Kumari Binodini Devi, and a number of others. The Manipuri drama is quite a convincing example of the high quality and attractivenes of the culture of Manipur.

In pure poetry, in literary and other essays, in historical studies, and in all other domains of literature, Manipuri has quite a rich harvest of books to show. Recently, Professor Rajkumar Sri Surendrajit Singh has brought out a very comprehensive work in Manipuri on Prosody and Metre (1969). It is

only unfortunate that so far no English translations (or translations in other Indian languages) of at least some of the outstanding classics of Manipuri are available, although Manipuri scholars, mostly Professors in the Manipur colleges as well as officials of the State, are not lagging behind in writing helpful books in English on the history and literature of their State, and also on certain aspects of their local culture.

Manipuri literature is most emphatically an advanced Modern Indian literature, and cannot be described as the backward literature of so-called Adivasi or primitive peoples—the Manipuri writers are already in the front line of modern Indian writing and translation.

Bodo

(6) Among the Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman) languages of India, some reference must be made to the very important *Bodo* (or *Boro*) group of speeches. These at one time were current throughout the entire valley of the Brahmaputra, and in North Bengal upto Northern Bihar, and in East and South-east Bengal. Now this very extensive Bodo *bloc* is broken up through the intrusion of the Aryan Assamese and Bengali. The Assam-Bengal Bodo speeches are the (now extinct) Rajbansi (or Koch), the Mech, the Rabha, the Dima-sa or Kachari, the Chutiya, the Garo, the Old Haijong, and the Tipra (or Tripura) Dialect. These go very close to each other, and are largely mutually intelligible. But barring some folk-tales and songs, the native literature in these Bodo dialects has been very meagre so far. The Bodo speakers of Assam are now falling in line with the Assamese-speaking Hindus of the Brahmaputra Valley, but are nevertheless trying to rehabilitate their language, and to create a literature in it. A half yearly journal called the *Alari* or 'Divine Light' printed in the Assamese alphabet, is coming out from 1959 from the *Bodo Literary and Cultural Society*, Gauhati, with serious articles of the type found in Assamese and Bengali journals of repute. A scholar and ethnologist, musician and folklorist, poet and writer like the late Bishnu Rabha was a great exponent of Bodo culture, like the family of the late Rupanath Brahma, a former Minister of Assam. Assamese scholars of Bodo are also helping, and Bodo writers are coming up. But not much advance has so far been made, although Bodo (Kachari) is being taught in the primary schools in Assam.

The state of Tripura is seeking to create a literature in the Tipra form of Bodo, and broadcasts in Tipra are on the air several times a week. The ruling house of Tripura, Bodo (Tipra)-speaking to start with, became oriented towards Bengali and Sanskrit from the end of the 15th century, and they made Bengali the official language of the State centuries ago. Tipra is now spoken by a small minority, and it is split up into several dialects, and its future development is beset with many difficulties. The same thing may be said for Garo, another Bodo speech, although it has acquired some status as the language of a part of the new *Meghalaya State*, and has some interesting folk-tales, as well as a Christian literature (though not very extensive) to boast of.

(*B*) *The Austric Languages of India* : (*a*) *Kol or Munda, and* (*b*) *Khasi*

These languages are spoken by groups of people, erstwhile backward, but but now they are very rapidly being integrated with the general mass of the Indian people, and are attaining to the same or similar cultural status with the

rest of the people ; and in some cases they are making very great advances, so that they are no longer to be described as *Adivasi* or 'Primitive' or 'Aboriginal'. The Austric languages were spoken in India in very ancient times, and already we have references to them in the oldest Sanskrit literature. They were spread all over the riverain plains of India, particularly the Gangetic and possibly also the Indus basins ; and they contributed to the village culture of India based on agriculture—e.g. the cultivation of rice and of a number of vegetables and fruits (like the gourd or the pumpkin, the brinjal, the bananas, the mango and the jack-fruit), and condiments like the ginger, the turmeric and the pepper ; and they raised poultry and pigs ; and it was they who possibly tamed the elephant for the first time. A great many of their religious ideas and rituals and ceremonies have continued down to our times, having been absorbed in a composite Aryan-non-Aryan culture which is at the basis of Hindiusm. They were known in ancient Sanskrit as *Nishadas*, and some of their tribes were also called *Bhillas* and *Kollas* (=modern Indian *Bhil* and *Kol*), besides *Pulindas*, *Matangas*(=modern Indian *Mang*), *Samana-palas* (=modern *Saontals*, or *Santals*), *Mundas*(=modern *Mundaris*) and *Pundras* (=modern Indian *Pund*) etc., etc. Their languages did not evolve any high literature, but remained as they were in ancient times in a rather primitive state, although a good many words from the Nishada or Austric languages have found a place in Indo Aryan—the various Prakrits and Sanskrit as well as in the present-day New Indo-Ayran speeches. Apart from these words, which are sometimes very difficult to identify because of their mutilation in form through the ages, we do not have any records of these Nishada languages. Nishada-speakers have gradually merged into the general mass of the Aryan-speaking people in North India, and in some areas they have become Dravidian-speakers also. In the Himalayan regions, when they came within the orbit of the Mongoloids, they took up Mongoloid dialects to a limited extent.

The Austric languages began to be studied for the first time from the beginning of the last century when European scholars became interested in these languages, and they began to study them and to find out their affinity or relation-ship with the other Indian languages. Brian Hodgson was one of the pioneers in the study of these *Adivasi* languages, both Austric and Mongoloid, at the beginning of the last century. Then the Christian missionaries came in—there were Roman Catholic missionaries from Germany and Belgium, Protestant Lutherans from Germany and from Norway and Sweden, and Anglicans and Baptists from Great Britain, and Methodists from Wales. They began to study from the middle of the last century the Austric languages, and their objective was to render the Christian scriptures and some Christian literature in these languages with a view to convert the primitive *Adivasis* to Christianity. But they did a great service in introducing a proper scientific study of these languages. At first it was thought that the Austric languages and the Dravidian speeches be-longed to the same family. But by 1860, Max Mueller and others established their separate identity.

The various Austric tribes of North India—the so-called 'Kolarians'—i.e. the Kol or Munda tribes—are confined mainly to North-Eastern India, in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and in the contiguous areas in South Bihar, Western Bengal and North Orissa. Besides, they are found to some extent in Madhya-Pradesh, and in South Orissa, and in the Telugu border also. In the Berar tract in Madhya-Pradesh, a very important tribe of these are the Korkus ; and in

Rajasthan and Malwa and North Gujarat, there were large masses of Kolarians known as Bhillas or Bhils, who are now Aryan in speech speaking Rajasthani and Gujarati ; but they retained their name and identity, and are not yet fully integrated with the rest of local population.

All these tribes had just a little oral literature, handed down from generation to generation, consisting of their mythological and semi-historical legends and traditions, and some folk-poetry, partly relating to their religious ceremonies, but mainly with regard to the life they used to live. This poetry as well as their oral legends have a unique literary value. A good deal of their mythology and ritual, as said before, has been transformed and passed into the mass of Hindu Purana legends. But the matter requires deeper and more detailed investigation. The recording of all this oral literature started from the fourth quarter of the last century, before which the various Christian missionary bodies tried to give to the Austric tribes some Christian literature—translations of the Gospels and other portions of the Bible, and some Christian hymns and other works.

Santali

Among the Austric languages of the present day the most important is *Santali*, which is spoken by between 3 to 4 million people. Their original home was in the Chota Nagpur plateau, in the Santal Parganas area and in the contiguous tracts round about in Bihar, West Bengal, and North Orissa. They have also been taken as indentured labourers to the tea-gardens of Assam and North Bengal, where they now form a settled population, very slowly merging into the surrounding Assamese and Bengali speakers. But in Bengal there is a noteworthy group of Santals who have not accepted the Christian religion but follow their own national religion, which in a way is akin to Puranic Hinduism, and being within the orbit of Brahmanism, they have been very largely influenced by Hindu notions. Although they have retained their language, culturally and mentally (and even spiritually) they are becoming just like other Bengali-speaking Hindus, adopting Bengali Hindu personal names, but retaining their Santal surnames. The same can be said to a lesser extent of the Santals in Bihar and in Orissa.

The Santals never had a script of their own, and Santali was first written down in the Bengali script, missionaries and others also using the Bengali script (and to a slight extent the Oriya and Nagari scripts also, in Orissa and Bihar). Then through Christian missionary initiative, the Roman alphabet was adopted for Santali, and a rich literature of mythological tales, traditions and folk-tales as well as of folk-songs has been collected and published in the Roman script through both missionary and non-missionary enterprise, some Bengali scholars having also taken an initiative in this.

Santali literature may be classified into two main types : (1) the earlier primitive literature based on oral tradition ; and (2) the modern literature which is being created by educated Santals, and that is on the model of the literatures in the Aryan languages, particularly Bengali and Oriya and to some extent Hindi. The second type of literature has not any special Santali character about it. But nevertheless it is in the field now, and it is making good progress.

There are two great works in Santali, giving collections of their traditions and legends. These are (1) *Hor-ko-ren Mare Hapram-ko-reak Katha*, or 'the

Traditions of the Ancestors of the Hor or Santal People". These are old Santali traditions which were given out by a Santal *guru* or preacher named Kolean (Kalyan), and the Reverend A. Skrefrsud, a Scandinavian missionary belonging to the Santal Mission from the Northern Churches at Benagaria near Dumka in Santal Parganas, obtained this oral narration and then collected it all and published it in the Roman script as a book in the year 1887. This book was never translated into English, although it was used by many scholars ; and only recently, it has been translated into good Bengali by Sri Baidya Nath Hansdak under the auspices of the Government of India Census Commission (under Sri Asok Mitra, I.C.S.), about the year 1965. This is one of the great compilations of Santali stories and legends in their earliest forms.

(2) Next, we have another similar compilation as well as composition, but much more extensive in its content, made by another Santal gentleman named Ramdas Manjhi Tudu, from Ghatsila in Dhalbhum District. This old gentleman was very well-informed about the traditions of his people and its religious and social culture, and his book is known as *Kherwal-Bansa Dharam-Puthi*, or 'the Sacred Book of the *Kherwal* Race', (*Kherwal* being an old name for the Santals and other allied Kol peoples). This book was published by him in the Bengali script, with a number of woodcut illustrations designed by him relating to Santali myths and social life, from Calcutta about the year 1902, and it has now become entirely out of print. Subsequently a reprint was made under the auspices of the Manager of the Dhalbhum Raj State at Ghatsila, the late Bankim Chandra Chakravarti, with a long introduction in Bengali by Suniti Kumar Chatterji. This book is now being brought out in a third reprint by Professor Suhrid Kumar Bhaumik, also in the Bengali script ; and a Bengali translation with the Introduction is also being prepared.

These two books are very important for Munda or Kol legends or antiquities, and they form a sort of a source-book for Kol or Munda legends and antiquities as they have been preserved in Santali.

Next to these myths and religious traditions and usages, there is a long series of Santali folk-tales dealing mostly with Santali belief in the *Bongas* or Gods and Godlings, and giving very fine pictures of the primitive life of the Santal people in their jungle villages. The best collections of such stories were made by the Scandinavian missionaries, particularly by P.O Bodding, who was one of the greatest authorities on Santal folk-lore and tradition. The British missionary A. Campbell also made a collection. Bodding's Santal folk-tales have been published in very convenient editions by the Institute for Comparative Folk-lore in Oslo, Norway, and also from Copenhagen, giving the Santali text in Roman script on one page and an English translation on the page opposite. The English civilian C.O. Bompas made an English translation of some of these folktales, which was long available to English readers—*The Folk-lore of the Santals*, David Nutt, London, 1908. We have in these folk-tales quite a good nucleus of a native Santali prose literature of very high value.

The Christian missionaries made a translation of the entire Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, and they published also some translations of some Christian religious classics like the *Pilgrim's Progress* of John Bunyan.

Over and above these folk-tales in prose, there is a rich mass of Santali lyrics. These are short poems, generally in couplets and sometimes in more than four to half a dozen lines. In these lyrics we find thumb-nail sketches

of Santali life, and they have a beauty of their own. Collections have been made also by Bengali lovers of Santal lore, and mention may be made specially of a fine collection of Santali poems published in the Roman script under the editorship of W.G. Archer, when he was an I.C.S. officer with the Bihar Government, and these have been published by the Government of Bihar from Patna. Rabindranath Tagore also appreciated the poetic beauty of these Santali songs.

There was so long no literature of a modern type in Santali. But it is only recently, after there has come into being a school-educated group of Santals, particularly in Bengal, who are also graduates and college-educated men, and some of whom are in Government Service as well as in the Indian Army and in the Provincial Police Service, that we have an emulation of Bengali literature ; and a genuine modern literature in Santali is now coming into being. This is hardly 40 years old. Already there are some Santal writers who have brought out volumes of short stories and general essays, published in the Bengali script or in the Roman, and there are poems in the usual modern Indian style on life as well as on religion, which are more or less in the same pattern as Bengali literature. Some translations from Tagore have appeared, and are regularly appearing. Versions of the Hindu Purana tales also occasionally come out, and there has appeared a translation of the *Isa Upanishad.* Literary journals have also made their advent, and mention may be made of the *Ebhen* or 'Light' (a quarterly literary journal), and *Hariyar Sakam* or 'the Green Leaf' (a weekly). These are printed in the Bengali character. Already some educated Santals, with whom Bengali is almost their second mother-tongue, are writing good poetry in Santali. Among such writers some two dozen outstanding names may be mentioned, like those of Naeke Mangal Chandra Soren, Sarada Prasad Kisku, Balkishore Baskc, Aditya Mitra Saontali Babulal Murmu, Bhagavat Murmu, 'Tade Sutam', Raghunath Murmu, Rup-Narayan Hembrom, Sridhar Kumar Murmu, Gomasta Prasad Soren, Chandranath Murmu, Kaliram Soren (his drama *Sidhu Kanu* on a Santal Patriot has been staged, and is very popular—it is in its second edition). Jugalds Mandi, Ramchandra Murmu, Mandal Hembrom, Durgacharan Hembrom, Hopon Chandra Baske, Bir-lita Hambrom, Rabilal Mandi, and Stephen Murmu, who are mostly poets and essayists ; besides departed Santali writers of the previous generation, Sadhu Ramchand Murmu Thakur (religious reformer and teacher of a Santal philosophy of religion), Ramdas Tudu Reska (author of the *Kherwal Bansa Dharam-Puthi* mentioned above), and Charu Chandra Sinha Soren (prose writer, of *Puraha* tales). There is a very great interest among educated Santals for the development of their language, and in this matter Christian Santals are as much interested as non-Christian Santals. On the basis of old Santali religious notions, and inspired by Hindu philosophy, a Santal philosophy of religion and of life is also developing, as conceived by Ramdas Tudu, Sadhu Ramchand Murmu Thakur and Mangal Soren. These are among the very hopeful signs of the development of Santali literature and thought at the present age.

The Santali language, as said before, started to be written in the Bengali script, and then the Roman was adopted and established for it. Santals are now forced to know more scripts than one : in Bengal, they must know the Bengali script, in Orissa the Oriya script, and in Bihar the Nagari script, and in Assam the Assamese script (which is the same as Bengali). For interprovincial purposes, Roman is the only suitable alphabet ; and in the Roman script, by far the largest and most significant mass of Santali literature has already been

published, thanks mainly to the Scandinavian missionaries. In Bengal, the Santals can get on very well with Bengali and the Roman. Everywhere the Santals form a very small minority community, which is economically as well as educationally backward, and therefore the knowledge of the local language with the local script is a *must* for them. Recently a Santali gentleman has come forward with a newly created alphabet of his own, called the *Ol* script. This is conceived in the same spirit as the Roman—each vowel and consonant sound has a separate letter. But the shapes of the letters are very complicated, compared with the Roman. A kind of Santali nationalism, the result of an inferiority complex fed by political partisanship, has pushed this alphabet to some prominence, and some Santals are advocating the use of this script for their language. But such a new script has absolutely no utility, and will be a drag on the progress of Santali language and literature. The Roman script has been a most effective and almost indispensable instrument for the writing and publishing of Santali, and this is serving its purpose admirably. A brand new alphabet, and a complicated one at that, will be another burden on Santali education and intellectual life. Fortunately, there is not much chance of its being universally adopted.

Next in importance to Santali is the *Mundari* language spoken by near a million of Mundas, who, like the Santals, are spread out in the four provinces of Bihar (Chota Nagpur), Orissa, Assam and to some extent Bengal also. The literary life of the Mundas goes parallelly to that of the Santals. Through Christian (Roman Catholic) missionary effort mainly, Mundari myths and legends as well as folk-tales have been collected and published in the Roman script. Mundas living in the Chota Nagpur have generally to learn the Nagari script which is used side by side with the Roman in writing Mundari. The late Sarat Chandra Roy made a very detailed study of Munda life and culture, and he collected some beautiful Mundari songs or poems. W.G. Archer is also responsible for a very good collection of Mundari poems (*Munda Durang*), published by the Government of Bihar. The total output of literature in Mundari, both the native oral literature as well as modern writing in Mundari, is not as extensive as in Santali. But Mundari songs, which are frequently longer in extent than Santali songs, are quite distinctive, and here they have a better output than Santali. A Christian literature in the shape of a translation of the Bible and some Christian texts has also grown up in Mundari.

The other Kol or Munda languages are not so very important, numerically and in other ways, and they generally follow the pattern of Santali and Mundari. There is still more restricted literary endeavour in these languages, like for example *Ho* or *Larka-Kol*, *Bhumij*, *Asur*, and the languages which are a little far-away from Bihar and West Bengal, like *Gadaba* (or *Patua*), and *Savara* (or *Sora*) which is the southernmost Munda language spoken in Orissa and the Telugu country, besides *Korku* in Vidarbha or Berar. These languages do not have any literature worth mentioning, excepting for some songs and folk-tales which are current orally.

Khasi

Finally, we have to speak of *Khasi*, which is spoken now in Khasi and Jayantia Hills, forming a part of the new Hill State *Meghalaya* in North-Eastern India. The Khasi people number over three and a half lacs, and they are in two main groups,—the Khasis proper in the West, and the Syntengs or Jaintias (or

Jayantiyas) in the East. They are racially Mongoloids. But they have in very early times—when and how nobody knows—adopted the Austric Khasi language. They had their own religion and social life and customs, and their own distinctive socio-political organisations. They came under Hindu influence from Bengal through the Jayantiyas (ancestors of the present day Synthengs) in the South, and from the Assamese Hindus in the North. Barring a few traditional stories and folk-tales, and some songs, they did not have any literature worth mentioning. A good number of them became Hindus. But through the efforts of the Welsh Methodist missionaries, a very large percentage of them have now become Methodist Christians. Roman Catholicism is also spreading among them, and the monks of the Salesian order (founded by Saint Francis de Sales) from Italy are now working among the Khasis. Formerly the Khasi language was written in the Bengali script. But now through the efforts of the Welsh Missionaries, they have accepted the Roman, with Welsh values for some of the Roman letters.

Through their contact with Christianity, the Khasis have advanced much in education, though mainly through English. A little literature under Christian inspiration is growing up among them. There is of course the translation of the Christian scriptures into Khasi.

Contact with Hindusm is helping the Khasis to take a greater interest in their own religion, culture, and institutions, and some cultured Khasis who are not in all cases Christians have written in Khasi as well as in English on various aspects of their culture and social usages. The Khasis, as an intelligent and advanced people, have got a number of highly cultivated educationists and men in public life, and their is a great possibility of further development of Khasi literature.

Among Khasi writers and scholars, poets and dramatists at the present-day, who are building up a small modern literature in the language, we may note some important names. U Rabon Singh's book on the *Customs of the Khasis*, dealing with Khasi religious rituals and social usages, and his *Book of Legends*, giving collections of folk-tales, and Radhon Singh Berry's *Proverbs of the Ancients* (1902), as well as Nelson Jaid's work on old practics and observances, present a mass of folk-lore material for the study of Khasi life and culture. Sib Charan Roy's books on the Khasi Concept of God and Man and on Khasi Ethics are noteworthy works. *The History of the Khasis* (1914) by B.K. Sarma Roy is an up-to-date and authoritative work for the time. *Khasi Geography* (1920) by Ondro Muney deals also with economic, political, and social structure of Khasi society.

The work of U Rabon Singh, Sib Charan Roy and also of U Jeebon Roy in describing Khasi institutions and culture was continued by a number of other writers, particularly Dr. H. Lyngdoh whose work *The Prayer Dance and the Cremation of the Cherra Syiems* (1923) has been described as 'monumental'. This work 'explains in detail the political organization prevailing and the state ceremonies observed in the Khasi States.' In the Khasi political structure, the *Syiem* or Ruler has his peculiar place. In 1937 Dr. Lyngdoh brought out another great book on the political organisation as well as the religous ideas and beliefs of the Khasis, including the practice of the burial cromlechs, and belief in transmigration. Two Salesian (Italian) missionaries, J. Bacchiarello (in his *Foot-prints of Our Ancestors*, 1930) and G. Costa in his work on the Concept

of the *Syiemship*, 1936), continued this line of investigation. There is a small series of illustrated book in Khasi published from Shillong, giving short accounts of Khasi life and ways as they are at the present-day (by Theodore Cajee and others). R.M.R. Nongoum's *The Khasis in the Past* (1959) is a good *resume* of Khasi history and culture.

In modern literature, there are a few writers, and Soso Tham, known as 'the Khasi Wordsworth', is an outstanding poet and prosateur who has been quite an innovator in the Khasi language. His first work appeared in 1925. He is essentially a writer of Humanity as a whole. He is nevertheless a great admirer of the old life and ways of his people, which he has extolled in his *Ancient Days of the Seven Huts.* P. Gatphoh (author of *The Stag's Adventure*, describing the natural beauty of the hills), B. Thangkhien (his book of poems *Words and Songs* appeared in 1936), and Victor Bareh (*Poems*, published 1957) are the most distinguished poets and song-writers of Khasi at the present day. Victor Bareh is the author of a great patriotic drama on the life of U Tirot Singh (1956), a great Khasi freedom fighter who died in the English prison at Dacca. F. M. Pugh's Khasi translation of Shakespeare's *As You Like It* is a noteworthy work.

Khasi literature shows a striking advance in essays and journalism. From 1895 onwards, Khasi magazines began to come out—the *Khasi To-day* (edited by H. R. Diengdoh), *The Watchman* (editor U Jeebon Roy) and *Bright Star* (from 1903). The political and socio-economical writing's of the Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Roy, B. M. Pugh's books on agriculture, S. Blah's pamphlets on the Flora of the hills, and Hamlet Bareh's book the *Freedom Movement in the Jaintia Hills*, are Khasi writints of this type.

The incomplete account (taken from Xerxes Lyngdoh's paper on Khasi Literature, *Hindusthan Standard*, Calcutta 5-7-1967 and 12-7-1967), just gives a brief indication of the modernisation of an interesting and important *Adivasi* languages of the Austric Family in India.

(*C*) *The Dravidian Adivasi languages*

As noted before, the Adivasi or Primitive languages of India belong mainly to the Sino-Tibetan and Austric families. But there are some backward tribes which speak Dravidian. They are, for example, the *Gonds* in Central India, who number over a million. At one time the Gonds had a little kingdom of their own, with its centre in Chandra in Madhya Pradesh, and they had Gond Kings, and a kind of Gond art (sculpture in stone) of their own which was quite distinctive. But they are now scattered and broken up, and live among various Aryan-speaking peoples as well as among Telugus who have penetrated into and settled within Gond territory. They do not cultivate their language to any appreciable extent, and it looks as if they would merge among their Aryan or Telugu neighbours surrounding them. The Gondi language is now broken up into a number of dialects which are sometimes mutually unintelligible.

Next we have the *Kurukh* or *Oraon* people. They live in Chota Nagpur, and their economic and social and cultural life is just like that of their close (Austric) neighbours, the Santals and the Mundas. Thousands of them have settled in Assam as labourers in tea-gardens, and also in North and South Bengal, and they are merging among Assamese and Bengalis. Their language *Oraon* is quite distinctive—it is an independent Dravidian language, and there is just a little oral literature in it. A good collection of Oraon poems and songs has

been made by W. G. Archer and published in the Nagari script by the Government of Bihar from Patna. The *Blue Grove*, a fine book giving an English version of a series of beautiful traditional poems in Oraon, with notes and commentaries, has been published by W. G. Archer from London in 1940.

There is in West Bengal and Bihar, in the Raj Mahal Hills, another small tribe of Dravidians—the *Maler* or *Mal-Pahariyas*. Their language very much resembles *Oraon*. But they are a small and insignificant group, and they do not have any literature worth mentioning—barring, naturally, a few songs and folk-tales. In Orissa and Andhra countries there are a few other backward tribes speaking Dravidian. Thus we have the *Kandh* people in Orissa, who are known as *Kui* (or *Kuvi*). They are fast becoming merged among the Oriyas. Then there are the *Parjis* in Koraput, and these Parjis have a language which has its own place in the Dravidian family. But there is not much literature, excepting as usual some folk-tales, and there is no literary cultivation of this language. The same may be said of a few other very small tribes speaking Dravidian, in Koraput in Orissa and in Bastar in Madhya Pradesh.

This completes the tale of the *Adivasi* peoples of India and their languages and literatures.

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THE QUESTION OF INVERSION THEORY OF ANCIENT-INDIAN EPIC

P. A. Grintser

The interpretation of "Mahabharata" is considerably complicated by the contradiction encountered by certain scholars in the characterization of the principal heroes of the ancient epic poem.

Pandavas' (who, it seems, have all the sympathies of the authors of the poem) victory over Kauravas ("where there is Krsna, there is victory"—yato krsnas tato jayah ; "where there is righteousness (dharma), there is victory"—yato dharmas tato jayah, as the epic poem again and again affirms),was achieved, at first sight, not by quite fair means. It is sufficient to recall that literally all the leaders of Kauravas — Bhisma, Drona as well as Karna and Duryodhana —were defeated and killed as a result of cheating or artful cunning of Pandavas. Hence the reproaches of treachery hurled at Pandavas and at Krsna, their inspirer, by Duryodhana and Karna, and by Kauravas' mother Gandhari.

In order to explain such a contradiction, some scholars advanced the so-called inversion theory in the second half of the 19th century. According to this theory, in the beginning, the principal heroes of "Mahabharata" were Kauravas, and only later, in the prolonged process of the editing of the poetical work and in connection with the changes in political and religious situation in India (especially the spread of Vaisnavism and of the cult of Krsna), the sympathies were transferred to Pandavas. This transformation took place gradually and organically. Nevertheless the traces of the initial orientation towards Kauravas remained in the text of the epic, and from this stem, in the opinion of the advocates of the inversion theory, the inconsistencies and paradoxes in the portrayal of the heroes of "Mahabharata".[1]

The inversion theory was subjected to a serious and convincing criticism.[2] Its opponents, among other things, showed that the theme of Kauravas' guilt belongs to many most ancient parts of Mahabharata : it must not therefore be regarded as an insertion into the epic at a certain later stage of its composition. It was also quite justly emphasized that for an epic any division into "positive" and "negative" personages is in principle inadmissible, as, for instance, it is even more difficult for a reader of "Iliad" to give preference to Achilles or Hector, Nestor or Priam,[3] than for a reader of "Mahabharata" to choose between Pandavas and Kauravas. Finally, and this is particularly important, the contradiction in the characterization of heroes generally proves to be imaginary, if our starting point is the moral teachings of "Mahabharata" itself. The behaviour of Pandavas, who were fighting for the triumph of righteousness (dharma) is at a much higher level than the ordinary ideas of honour and right, at the level of the morality of non-egoistic disinterested action from the point of view of the authors of "Mahabharata", free from reproaches and always justified.[4]

Vulnerability of the inversion theory, in the form in which it was usually propounded by its advocates, was to a great extent determined by the fact that

its approach to the ancient Indian epic was predominantly one of evaluation. Moreover, the evaluation of the actions of the heroes was based on criteria alien to "Mahabharata". However, while not agreeing with the thesis regarding the notorious contradiction of "Maharabharata" and recognizing its ultimate inner unity, we nevertheless cannot deny the substantial transformation of the poem in the oral tradition in the course of many centuries. Such a transformation, which is testified by numerous indications in the text of "Mahabharata", undoubtedly has taken place ; and in the course of this transformation the functions of epic personages and their role in the plot of the epic have apparently changed. (And here the inversion theory's general corelusions — if not its arguments — are justified). Various kinds of consideration can be cited in support of this conclusion. In the present article we dwell on one of them stemming from a comparison of the ancient Indian epic with other epics of world literature. In itself such a comparison is justified by typological closeness, noted again and again, of the heroic stratum of "Mahabharata" to other heroic epics of antiquity and Middle Ages. But a comparison of functions of heroes in the plot of different epics is further facilitated by the circumstance that a choice of motives determining these functions is repeated from epic to epic and every one of them quite clearly and unequivocally marks the place of the hero in the narration.[5]

Restricted by the frame-work of the article, we shall first of all touch on the character of Karna and his analogues in other epics.

Karna is the eldest, though an illegitimate, son of Kunti mother of Pandavas from the sun-god Surya. On account of his so-called low birth he was disowned by his brothers, and Duryodhana offered him friendship. Subsequently, Karna refused to go over to the side of Pandavas, even though he was promised the overlordship of the world, submission of brothers and their common wife Draupadi. He refused to desert Duryodhana, although he knew that Kauravas were doomed to be defeated and he — to perish along with them. No one in the epic can surpass Karna in athletic contests and military exploits. It is said about Arjuna, the best warrior among Pandavas, that he was either equal to Karna (1.122.47 ; VIII.43.15-44),[6] or even inferior to him (8.50.747). Hence Yudhisthira is afraid of Karna more than of any other among Kauravas and admits that Karna has robbed him of peace and sleep for all the past thirteen years (8.46.16 ; Cp.3.284. 1-3 ; 293.20). At the same time Karna is magnanimous and noble. On the field of battle he spared the life of Yudhisthira, Bhima, Nakula and Sahadeva, at the request of Kunti, and earlier gives away to the god Indra, disguised as a Brahman, armour and ear-raings which made him invulnerable, because, in the words of Surya, the whole world knows that Karna himself will never ask for a favour, but will grant any request of the virtuous. (3.284, 12). After Karna's death his body was being guarded by gods from desecration, the light emanating from it was merging with sunlight. And at the end of "Mahabharata" Karna along with Pandavas is blessed for ever with heavenly bliss (18.3.17-18).

Proceeding from similar kind of characterization of the personality of Karna, A. Holtzmann affirmed that Karna "in the ancient poem undoubtedly played the main role".[7] However one must not forget that in "Mahabharata" the nobility and courge of Karna are balanced off (as in the case of a majority of other heroes) by his own ill deeds. Krsna rightly reminds Karna, in answer to his reproaches, of his condoning in the humiliation of Draupadi, dishonest

play of dice, attempt at poisoning Bhima, depriving Pandavas of their kingdom etc. every time questioning : "Where was your Dharma (righteousness) at that time ?".[8] Apparently, in order to decide the question of the role of Karna in the ancient "Mahabharata", it is neither one or the other evaluation of his behaviour which is significant, but determination of his place in the development of the epic story. And here a comparison with other epics of world literature, as it seems to us, convinces us that many of the features and motives making up his type are indeed specific for the main hero of all world epics.

The same A. Holtzmann at one time mentioned the similarity between Karna and Siegfried : "Being a foundling Karna, in spite of his divine origin, was obliged to serve as a vassal in the royal army ; he secures wife for his master and kills hostile monster (Jarasandha). These characteristics manifestly remind us of the saga of Siegfried".[9] Another German scholar compares Karna with Iranian hero Darab.[10] But especially interesting and, in our opinion, undisput able are the parallels between the characters of Karna and Achilles in Homer's 'Iliad'.

Like Achilles, Karna also is god's son, besides, his birth is unusual. Karna's mother Kunti used a magic mantra (incantation) taught her by the sage Durvasas and with its aid invoked the god Surya to bear a son. Divine origin is a general feature of epic heroes,[11] but Karna is, in addition, distinguished by the fact that he does not know his parents. Kunti in an attempt to hide the birth of the child threw the boy into Ganga, from where he was picked up by the charioteer Adhiratha and brought up by him as his own son. The story of Karna's childhood is thus, very much like the Akkad legend of Sargon, Biblical legend of Moses, Roman legend of Romulus and Remus and Persian legend of Darab,[12] but it reminds to some extent also of the childhood of Achilles, in so far as Achilles, though not a foundling, also was brought up not by his parents but by the centaur Cheiron.

Another motive which brings the characters of Karna and Achilles closer together is invulnerability. In order to make Achilles invulnerable, Thetis his mother kept the infant in the fire and dipped him into the waters of the Styx. Hence he could be killed only by wounding his heel, as was done by Paris with the help of god Apollo. Karna was born with natural armour on his body (Thetis seems to have a new armour made for Achilles)[13] and it protected him against every weapon, until god Indra, desiring to free Pandavas from the danger from Karna, appeared before him in the guise of a Brahman and asked him for the armour as well as the magical earrings. Karna, who had promised never to refuse to any suppliant anything, cut off from his body the armour and the ear-rings (3.294).

Like Achilles, Karna knows that he is doomed soon to perish (3.284.18-20 ; 5. 141 etc.), but, like Achilles, he is determined to fulfil his duty and take revenge on the enemies, prefers death to an inglorious life.[14] When in "Iliad" grieving Thetis reminds Achilles about his destiny, Achilles replies with pride :

. . . . . I shall fall
Where I am fated to ; but I shall first get
shining glory[15]

Very much similar scene we have in "Mahabharata." Surya warns Karna about the destruction which threatened him and advises him to be circumspect

and sensible. To this Karna replies to his father almost in the same words as used by Achilles while replying to his mother.

For someone like me self-protection is not proper. Glorious death is sublime in this world.[16]

One more parallel scene — weeping steeds which, before the hero entered the battle, prognosticated his end. In "Iliad" Achilles' steeds first mourn Patroclus' death (Il. XVII. 426-440) and then the stallion Xanthus speaks in grief to his master about his imminent death (Il.XIX. 404-417).[17] Accordingly, in "Mahabharata" Karna's horses weep when he leaves in his chariot for the battlefield of Kuru. This weeping — along with other omens — presages Karna's death at the hands of Arjuna and defeat of Kauravas (8. 26. 37-38).

Certain important details in the description of duels of Achilles with Hector in Homer's epic and of Karna with Arjuna in "Mahabharata" closely resemble each other. The duel of the Greek heroes is watched by "all gods" (Il. XXII. 166). The fight of Karna with Arjuna is watched by gods, asuras, gandharvas, rishis, nagas, apsaras, etc. (8. 63). In the battlefield Athene helps Achilles, Apollo helps Hector, while in "Mahabharata" Indra and Surya each prays for the victory of his son (8.63.992). Athene asks of Zeus to decide the fight in favour of Achilles, and Zeus throws two lots on golden scales. Hector's lot dipped and Achilles' rose up (I. XXII. 177-181 ; 211-213). In "Mahabharata", Indra asks Brahma about the outcome of the fight of the heroes, and Brahma, in agreement with the will of the fate, hands over victory of Arjuna (1. 63. 48-54).

This kind of similarity in details and description probably may be explained by accidental coincidence or commonly used epical cliches ; however, the similarity of the images of Achilles and Karna is confirmed by two central, organic motives in their career which determine the role of these heroes in the development of the plot of the epic.

The first of these is the refusal to fight. Achilles, incensed with Agamemnon because he took away from him the prisoner Briseis, refused to fight until the Greeks were defeated and his friend Patroclus killed. Taking offence at the gibe of and neglect by Bhisma, the commander of Kaurava army, Karna — like Achilles — vows not to take up arms, until the threat of defeat hangs on Kauravas, and Bhisma himself is killed :

> While the son of Ganga (i.e. Bhisma, P. G.)
> is alive I will not fight, O King,
> Only when Bhisma is killed, I shall enter the fight,
> together with all warriors.[18]

And Achilles as well as Karna carry out their vow. Refusal to fight is a variant of the well-known epical motive of forced inactivity of the principal hero (imprisonment, exile, Odysseus stay with Calypso and Aeneas' with Dido etc.). But it is very characteristic that in "Iliad" as well as "Mahabharata" this motive takes the same form in the case of Achilles and Karna resp.

The other motive, still more important from the point of view of development of the epical plot (as it forms its central theme), is the loss of wife or beloved by hero. This motive in one way or another is present in Homer's "Odyssey" and India epic "Ramayana", Ugritic The Keret Epic, epical parts of the Bible, "Digenis Akritas", German "Nibelungenlied", Central Asian epics etc. And everywhere it serves as one of the decisive stimuli of the behaviour

of the principal hero or heroes.[19] In "Iliad" the loss of wife was the cause of Trojan War on the whole (kidnapping of Helen by Paris) and organic core of "Iliad" itself (taking away of Briseis by Agamemnon from Achilles). There is every reason to suppose that the same motive was present not to a lesser extent in earlier versions of "Mahabharata", although in the text which has come down to us it stands out already somewhat weakened, in a "skimmed" form.[20] And what is most important : along with Pandavas, who had almost lost their wife, the one who was actually deprived of her (and that underservedly) was Karna.

At the Svayamvara (choosing of husband) of Draupadi, Karna was the first to fulfil the task set before the bridegrooms, namely to bend the unbendable bow, and prepares to hit the target. But he finds himself rejected because he was considered to be a son of a simple charioteer (1.178.1827),[21] and Draupadi falls to the lot of Pandavas. Karna cannot forgive his brothers this insult and later, when Kunti, Surya and Krisna offer to Karna, as a price for such a pardon, kingdom, wealth and Draupadi herself, Karna still remains adamant in his anger (5.138 ; 139, 143, 144). Let us recall that Achilles quite in the same manner refuses to be reconciled with Agamemnon, although through Phoenix, Ajax Telamonian and Odysseus the hero was promised the return of Briseis and recompense him with rich gifts and lands (II. IX. 114-655).

Thus, while talking about similarity in the characters of Achilles and Karna, we mean not just likeness in certain circumstances in their lives, character and manner of their behaviour, but also essential coincidence of their place in the epical narrative, their function in the epical plot. Such a resemblance can be attributed neither to accident nor to borrowing.[22] It is explained by the typological correspondence of the Indian and Greek epics and especially the personalities of Achilles and Karna, all the more so as the typological parallels generally are extremely characteristic for the epic poetry, while Achilles and Karna, as we had already shown in passing, time and again, remind us of other epical heroes from Keret to Siegfried.

However there is also something unusual in a comparison of Achilles with Karna. Achilles (just as Keret, Rama, Siegfried, Alpamysh, Roland and other kindred types) is the principal hero of epic. Karna however is an antagonist of the principal heroes. Their mode of life, aspirations, traits of character and motivations are similar, but the attitude of the authors of the epic towards them is different. It is different, because the artistic concepts of "Iliad" and "Mahabharata" are dissimilar. The concept of Greek epic, as we see it, might be most accurately called heroic, while that of the Indian — moral.

In this context it would be appropriate to refer to one more motive common to both the epics, i.e. the motive of the hero's great wrath. The very first two lines of "Iliad" introduce the theme or wrath :

> Extol, oh goddess, the wrath of Achilles the son of Peleus,
> The ruinous wrath that brought on the
> Achaeans woes innumerable.
> (Quotation from Iliad)[23]

And further, all the episodes of the poem take place against the background of description of various stages and shades of Achilles' wrath. The "Iliad's" beginning coincides with its birth and the conclusion — with its end, extinction. It is universally recognised that Achilles' wrath cements and unites the entire content of Homer's epic, but its significance is not just compositional.

A peculiar kind of tragic collision is personified in the heroes of "Iliad". They are full of energy, courage, desires and strength to realise their longings, but nevertheless their life in all its manifestations has been predetermined by gods and fate. No matter how valiant the Trojans were, Troy was all the same destined to fall ; no matter how brave Hector was, he was doomed to die at the hands of Achilles ; and no matter how much Achilles excelled other warriors, his death was inevitable soon after Hector's death. The heroes know this, know that "not a single man born on this earth, whether courageous or cowardly, escapes his fate, once he is born on this planet."[24] (Il.VI. 488-9). But in any psychological activity, in any concrete step, essentially, they ignore this knowledge. Their indomitable fortitude and will "Iliad" contrasts with the commands of the fate. However, the contrasting does not indicate that will and fortitude are capable of changing anything (the fate is unchanging !), but it indicates that in the face of the inexorable fate, the pledge of human merit of a hero, who fearlessly pursues his path in spite of the destiny prepared by gods, lies in them (i.e. in the will and fortitude).

And in "Iliad" precisely the wrath of Achilles is the brightest and most consistent expression of this heroic selfwill, which, for all its lack of wisdom, has been filled with humanistic pathos. In the end Achilles realizes that the wrath has brought to himself and his companions-in-arms only needless misfortunes, but for the authors of "Iliad" the whole greatness and tragedy of the Achilles' personality are inseparable from his wrath, closely connected with him, and therefore in spite of everything':

> *Extol* (italics mine, — P. G.), oh goodess, the wrath of
> of Chilles the son of Peleus !

In the first chapter of "Mahabharata" we also hear the theme of wrath :

> Duryodhana is the great tree of wrath.[25]
> Its trunk is Karna, Sakuni its branches,
> Duhsasana its plentiful flowers and fruit,
> Its roots the unwise Dhritarastra.
> Yudhisthira is the great tree of righteousness (dharma).
> Its trunk is Arjuna, its branches — Bhima
> Madri's sons its rich flowers and fruits,
> And its roots Krisna Brahma and brahmanas.[26]

Again Achilles and Karna appear to be close to one another — both are the bearers of wrath, but the treatment of the motive sharply differs. In "Iliad" the wrath, though dreadful and pernicious, is extolled ; in "Mahabharata" however the wrath is positively repudiated, contrasted with righteousness (dharma) — virtue, justice, law and, besides, the heroes of the epic — Pandavas and Kauravas — are contrasted as well.

The treatment of "Mahabharata" can be compared to that of "Iliad" in the context of solving the epical conflict between the fate and man ; but the solution was entirely different. The nature of the events had been preordained in "Mahabharata" in no way less than that in "Iliad". The outcome of the fight on the field of Kuru, the destruction of Kauravas is predetermined just as is predetermined the outcome of Trojan war and the eventual fall of Troy. The philosophical meditations on all-powerful fate and the futility of human efforts, fill the Indian epic to the same extent as the Greek one. But it is characteristic that complaints against fate, as a rule, have been put in the mouth of Kauravas

and their allies.[27] Because on the whole "Mahabharata" teaches "to combine one's own individual efforts with fate" and the main thing is that these efforts are understood as moral efforts.

Moreover, although fate is unchangeable, the heroes of "Mahabharata", somehow or other, all seem faced with the decisive moral choice. Within the limits set by fate they have to choose either aspirations to derive from life egoistic benefit, assert their ego with its passions, attachments, antipathies or denial of their personal desires and interests for the sake of universal justice, for the sake of strict implementation of selfless (disinterested) duty ; they choose either the "path of wrath" or the "path of righteousness" (dharma).[28]

Like the heroes of "Iliad", the heroes of "Mahabharata" are active and singleminded ; their actions are full of courage and greatness of spirit ; however if for "Iliad" justification of such actions consists precisely in this, "Mahabharata" goes further : it demands an answer to the question : What is the ultimate purpose of the action ? and recognises only those actions which irrespective of their results are disinterested, not intended for personal benefit and do not spring from personal motives.

> Thus, recognise supremacy of action, but
> never be guided by its fruits.
> The fruit of action must not be the motive
> of your action, not let inaction be
> your guide.[29]

Such is the moral foundation of "Mahabharata". And hence condemnation of wrath as a source of self-interest guided behaviour, it matters little what incited this wrath — whether it is wrong (done to oneself) or envy, and whom it belongs to-whether to violator or to the victim of violence. In "Bhagavadgita", which embodies in a single focus the religio-phiolosophical and moral principles of "Mahabharata", Arjuna asks his mentor Krisna —

> What prompts a man to do evil things, even
> against his will, O Varsneya, as though
> forcibly directed ?

and Krisna answers :

> It is passion, it is wrath, born of Guna Rajas
> (the principle of passion in nature), it is
> insatiable, all evil. Know it as your enemy
> in this world.[30]

Karna was insulted by his brothers, who thought he was to son of a simple charioteer. Draupadi, who by right ought to have belonged to him, also was got by Pandavas. And only Duryodhana accepted him as an equal, protected him from attacks, conferred on him the Kingdom of Angadesh. Hence Karna remains loyal to the friendship with Duryodhana to the end, and towards Pandavas he nurses enmity and dreams of vengeance. Even after knowing the secret of his birth, he does not wish to leave the foster parents who brought him up and gave him a name and no promises of Krisna could force him to betray Duryodhana, to desert his comrades — Kauravas at the time of their adversity.

> With me as if in a boat, they want to
> cross the vast ocean of fight.

How can I desert them who do not know other
means to swim to the shore ?[31]

Karna's words are magnanimous and noble, Achiless also would have most likely answered to Krsna in the same way. But the whole point is that the ancient Indian epic, unlike the Greek one, recognises the nobility of such an answer only at the level of individual and therefore, as "Mahabharata" affirms, blind and narrow moral philosophy. "Mahabharata" proceeds from the assumption that Karna in the final analysis acts from egoistic motives. He cannot excuse the insults hurled at him, he is devoted only to those who are devoted to him and in the dispute of the champions of justice and injustice he is governed by the feelings of personal friendship and personal vengeance. And "Mahabharata", giving Karna his due, at the same time condemns him and shows that not fate - in any case not fate alone - made him an opponent of the true heroes of the epic, namely Pandavas.

When his brother Bhima and wife Draupadi persuade Yudhisthira, the eldest brother and husband, immediately, without waiting for the end of the agreed period of exile, to attack the offenders, i.e., Kauravas, Yudhisthira firmly refuses and explains reasons of his refusal in the following manner:

If the accursed curses, and the someone punished
by his teacher punishes,
If the insulted insults in revenge everyone around,
If the beaten beats and one who is being
tortured begins to tortue others...
Then in this world, where wrath rules, there
will be no place, oh Krsna, for life.[32]

But Karna insults in return those who have insulted him and in this he resembles Achilles, who in answer to the proposal of his friend and mentor Phoenix to make peace with Agamemnon, reproaches him;

You had better insult the one who has insulted me ![33]

Therefore, as Achilles is the focus of wrath in "Iliad", Karna is "the trunk of the tree of wrath", but let us repeat, Achilles is the principal hero of the epic, but in "Mahabharata" Yudhishthira and other heroes, personifying the "tree of virtue", the "tree of righteousness" stand in opposition to Karna.

Moral teaching, putting an indelible imprint on the entire content of "Mahabharata" and the characters of its heroes had developed under the influence of the ethical doctrine of Hinduism (above all, the doctrine of dharma, moksa, Karma) and could belong only to relatively later versions of the epic, of the beginning of 1st millennium A.D. To the most ancient stratum of the epic — according to the time and the conditions of its formation, this teaching must have been alien, and "Mahabharata", like other epics of the ancient world, apparently, was in essence an heroic epic. To this heroic basis of "Mahabharata", we are indebted by the presence of typological parallels, binding the Indian epic with "Iliad", "Gilgamesh", "Nibelungenlied" etc. And the aforenoted resemblance between the characters of Karna and Achilles, proves in our opinion, that in the most ancient stratum of "Mahabharata" the role and place of Karna were different in the epic plot than in the versions which have come down to us, closer to the role and place assigned to Achilles in "Iliad".

Of course, a comparative analysis of the character of Karna and bringing out its typology is not sufficient in order to confirm the inversion theory in its extreme conclusions (it would be desirable to subject other characters and plot collisions of the epic to the same kind of analysis). Nevertîeless, one cannot deny the substantial changes in the attitude of "Mahabharata" to its heroes. But it is premature to decide whether these changes were connected with the cardinal rearrangement of the text of the poetical work, the plot transposition, total transfer of sympathies from one group of personages to another, or, as seems more probable, they were the result of a new moral interpretation of the earlier epical conflict. In any case the inversion theory, by focusing the attention of specialists on multidimensionality of the heroes' images (we think, it is necessary to speak specifically of multidimensionality, and not of the contradiction) in an ancient Indian epic, in our view, has not yet exhausted its possibilities and helps to throw light on the special features of its genesis.

NOTES

[1] See A. Holtzmann, Indische Sagen, Bd. 1-2, Stuttgart, 1854, Vorrede, Ss. VII f; A. Holtzmann, Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahabharata, Kiel, 1892, Ss. 11 ff; L. V. Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Kultur in historischer Entwicklung, Leipzig, 1887, Ss. 460 ff; as well as: G. A. Grierson, Notes. — "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1908, pp. 602 ff; 837 ff: E. W. Hopkins, The great epic of India. Its character and origin, New Haven, 1920, pp. 385 ff; M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. 1, P. 1, Calcutta, 1963, pp. 399 ff. etc.

[2] H. Oldenberg, Das Mahabharata. Seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form, Göttingen, 1922, Ss. 35 ff; N. K. Siddhanta, The heroic age of India. A comparative study, London—New York, 1929, pp. 24 ff; V. S, Sukthankar, On the meaning of the Mahabharata, Bombay, 1957, pp. 11 ff, etc.

[3] The well-known researcher of the Epic H. M. Chadwick wrote: "This is noteworthy absence of any display of feeling against the opponents of the poet's heroes — as much in the case of Penelope's suitors as in that of the Trojans", (H. M. Chadwick, The heroic age, London, 1912, p. 229).

[4] Ethical concept of "Mahabharata" is analysed in our book "Mahabharata and Ramayana" M. (Moscow), 1970, p. 48 ff.

[5] Concerning the stability and uniformity of the epic motives ascribed to certain hero types see V. Zhirmunsky, Narodny Geroichesky Epos (National Heroic Epic), M.—L. (Moscow-Leningrad), 1962, pp. 12 ff; E. M. Maletinsky, Proiskhozhdenye Geroicheskogo Eposa (Origin of Heroic Epic), M., 1963 pp. 431 ff; C. M. Bowra, Heroic Poetry, London, 1961, pp. 91 ff; G. R. Levy, The sword from the rock, London, 1955, pp. 127 ff; as well as our article "Epos drevnego mira" (Epic of the ancient world) in the collection "Tipologia i vzaimosvyazi literatur drevnego mira" (Typology and interconnections of literatures of the ancient world), M., 1971.

[6] Here and further the references are given from the text of "Mahabharata" according to the critical edition: ed. by V. S. Sukthankar a.o., Vols. 1-XVIII Poona, 1927-1966.

[7] A. Holtzmann, Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahabharata, S. 44.

[8] Tada dharmah kva te gatah, (VIII. 67. 1-5).

[9] A. Holtzmann, Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahabharata, S. 44 ; See also H. Leo, Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des deutschen Volkes und Reiches, Bd. 1, Halle, 1854, Ss. 58 ff.

[10] F. Spiegel, Die arische Periode und ihre Zustände, Leipzig, 1887. Ss. 300 ff.

[11] About the epical motive of divine or miraculous birth see V. Zhirmunsky, National Heroic Epic, pp. 12 ff ; C. Bowra, Heroic Poetry, pp. 93 ff ; N. Siddhanta, The heroic age of India pp. 194 f ; C. H. Gordon, Before the Bible. The common background of Greek and Hebrew civilization, London, 1962, pp. 62 f ; and others.

[12] These and other examples of utilization of the motive of the hero-foundling in epic (as well as corresponding bibliography) see in the book A.v. d. Lee, Zum literarischen Motiv der Vatersuche, Amsterdam, 1957, Ss. 8 ff.

[13] The motive of invulnerability in the form closest to the Homer's epic : only the heel remains vulnerable — is related in "Mahabharata" also to the character of Krsna. this connection other parallels between "Krsna and Karna" are interesting. Thus legends about their childhood are identical in their essence.

[14] About the irresistible longing for glory, peculiar to epic heroes see C. Bowra, Heroic Poetry, pp. 61 ff ; N. Siddhanta, The heroic age of India, pp. 82 f ; G. Gordon, Before the bible, (pp. 65,272.)

[15] Keidom, epei, ke thao. Yny de kleos ethlon azoimen. (Il. XVIII. 121).

[16] "madvidhasyayasasyam hi na yuktam pranaraksanam yuktam hi yasasa yuktam maranam lokasammatam (3.284.28)

[17] Concerning the uncommonness of the repreentation of the talking horse in Homer's epic see F. Dirlmeier, Homerisches Epos und Orient, — "Rheinisches Museum für Philologie", N. F. Bd. 98, Hft. 1, Frankfurt a/M, 1955, Ss. 27 f.

[18] naham jivati gangeye yotsye rajan kathancana hate to bhisme yoddhasmi sarvaireva maharathalh

[19] A. B. Lord, The Singer of tales, Cambridge (Mass). 1960, p. 186 ; C. Gordon, Before the Bible, pp. 26, 134 f ; 222 ; T. B. L. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer, London, 1958, pp. 86 f, 180 ; V. Zhirmunsky, National Heroic Epic, pp. 209 ff.

[20] See our speech at the first All-Union Conference of Indologists, "Motive of insult to Draupadi in the composition of "Mahabharata".

[21] This episode is retained in many manuscripts of "Mahabharata", in its Calcutta and Bombay editions (I. 189). In the critical edition it has been transferred to variant readings, but this by no means proves that it is not genuine or organic part of the text, but only that there are discrepancies in the later written versions of the epic.

[22] A hypothesis was current for some time in the scientific literature of the XIX century about the dependence of the Indian epic (first of all,"Ramayana") on the Greek one, resting, among other things, on the affirmation of the Greek rhetorican Dion Chrisoestom (I-II century A. D.), that Indians knew Homer and "transferred it into their language". (See A. Weber Über das Ramayana ; Berlin, 1870, Ss. 11 ff ; R. Pischel, Die altindische Literatur, Berlin — Leipzig, 1906, S. 195). However at the present time, it has been quite convincingly proved that there existed no cultural premises for mutual influence between Greek and Indian epic traditions, and chronological framework of historical contacts between Greece and India in fact rule out such influence. (See H. Jacobi, Das Ramayana Geschichte und Inhalt, Bonn, 1893, Ss. 94 ff ; M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. 1, pp. 451 ff ; G. N. Banerjee, Hellenism in ancient India, Calcutta London, 1920, pp. 223 ff, etc.).

[23] Il. I. 1-2.

[24] Il. VI. 488-g.

[25] By the way, let us state that for the concept of wrath "Iliad" uses the word "menis" and "Mahabharata" uses the word "manyu". (Duryodhano manyumayo mahodrumah) — both the words are derived from the some Indo-European root.

[26]
duryodhano manyumayo mahadrumah
skandhah Karnah sakunistaasya sakhah l
duhsasanah puspaphale samrddhe
mulam raja dhrtarastro 'manisi ll
yudhisthiro dharmamayo mahadrumah
skandho'rjuno bhimaseno sya sakhah l
madrisutau puspaphale samrddhe
mulam krsno brahma ca brahmanasca ll
(1.1 65-66)

(These two stanzas are repeated in the fifth book of "Mahabharata" (5.29. 45-46).

[27] For instance, Dhrtarastra, who always justifies his indecision and indulgence towards his own sons by reference to the will of the fate (1.156.4 ; II. 45.57 ; 5.40.30 ; 156.4 ; 6.49.2 ; 58.1 ; 8.5.29 etc.).

[28] "Path of Dharma" belongs not necessarily only to Pandavas ; it is chosen for example by Kaurapas, Bhisma and Vidura. At the same time Karna, born as Pandapa, takes ' the path of wrath".

[29]
karmanyevadhikaraste ma phalesu kadacana l
ma karmaphalaheturbhur ma te sango'stvakarmani ll
(6.24.47)

[30]
atha kena prayukto' yam papam carati purusah l
anicchannapi varsneya baladiva niyojitah ll
kama esa krodha esa rajogunasamudbhavah l
mahasano mahapapma viddhyenamiha vairinam ll
(6.25.36-37)

[31]
maya plavena sangramam titirsanti duratyayam l
apare parakama ye tyajeyam tanaham katham ll
(5.144.14)

[32]
abhisakto hyabhisajedahanyadguruna hatah l
akrustah purusah sarvam pratyakrosed anantaram l
pratihanyaddhatas caiva tatha hinsyacca hinsitah ll
evam samkupite loke janma krsne na vidyate l
(3.30. 26-27. 29)

[33] Il. IX. 615

CONCERNING TWO IMPORTANT LITERARY-CUM-HISTORICAL PROCESSES IN INDIA

I. D. Serebriakov

More than twenty-five years have passed since the day when Indian people won freedom and two independent developing states came into being. This period has brought about serious changes not only in socio-economic and political spheres, but also in all fields of intellectual life. Considerable acceleration and broader development of culture in general and of literature in particular has taken place. This found expression in the democratization of political and social life and in the very course of literary and historical process and its impact on the development of various national and international literary communities as well as in the development of ideas and aesthetic contents of literature. Soviet Indologists are directing their attention to specific features of literary history of independent India and Pakistan, as well as Bangladesh. We would like to give a brief account of the work of these scholars before formulating the problem of the present article.

The traditional interest of the peoples of multinational Soviet Union, to life and achievements of Indian peoples long since has been finding its expression in multifaceted activity of Russian scholars in research of development of social thought in India as well as in the works of art and in the attempts to have direct contacts with Indian public. Great October Revolution played a stimulating role in this process. British Imperialism did not loosen its grip on the Indian people, although not only individual workers, but even people in their mass were attracted to life and achievements of the first socialist country. Only long afterwards when national liberation movement brushed aside all obstacles in the way of the two peoples coming together (i.e. when independence came), establishment of direct diplomatic relations between the USSR and India, development of economic and cultural relations stimulated among the Soviet people interest in intellectual life of India, in her literature and art.

During the past quarter of the century works of more than a thousand Indian and Pakistani writers and poets have been published in the different languages of the peoples of the USSR, the total circulation exceeding thirty million copies (excluding publications in newspapers and journals). In this tremendously important cultural work, which has opened up for us an exceptionally interesting field of intellectual life of the people of India, Soviet Indologists occupy high and honourable place. Their contribution in the work of translating masterpieces from languages of ancient and modern India must be specially lauded. But here we are interested in another aspect of their works, i.e. their researches in the field of a study of literary process in India, writing history of national literatures and research into their present state.

First of all it is necessary to note that indological literary criticism has a suffciently long and rich tradition in our country, from the first half of the 19th Century, and getting a considerable stimulus since the October revolution.

Professors K. A. Kossovich, P. Ya. Petrov, I. P. Minayev, Academician S. F. Oldenburg, F. I. Shcherbatsky, A. P. Barannikov, Prof. R. O. Shor and a number of others laid the foundations, on which rose the edifice of Soviet Indology.* Resting on its traditions and extensively utilizing the experience of western indology and social sciences in India itself, Soviet indologists have been conducting during 1947—1972 : (a) Scientific and informational work, resulting in publication of variety of articles of general nature in scientific and socio-political magazines, in reference books and encyclopaedia publications[1] ; (b) Research work in individual literatures, their genres, authors, problems of poetics[2] ; (c) Approach to fundamental theoretical generalisatins and attempts to formulate conception of literary process in India and Pakistan.[3]

All this, especially conception of literary process of a particular region in coordination with world literary process, confronted indologists as also their colleagues in other branches of Oriental literary criticism with a number of methodological problems, objectively emanating from the present state of studies of literature. Several discussions were held on such problems as periodization, emergence of realism, international literary contacts, categories of international and national in literatures of the East, problem of Renaissance and Enlightenment.

A business-like discussions of the said problems facilitated not only making scientific positions more precise, but also approaching considerably closer to the objective understanding of specific features of literary process in Eastern countries in general and in the countries of Indo-Pakistan region in particular.

In the course of discussion it became evident that it was necessary to make more precise the object of our investagations, by correlating the general and the particular, without which it was hardly possible consistantly to pursure the principle of historicism in the investigation connected with the science of literature (literary criticism) in general and correct understanding and evaluation of ideas and aesthetic content of literature, development of literature as one of the important spheres of intellectual life of the people. It is quite legitimate to turn attention to the formulation of the question about the existence in Indian literatures of independent stages of Renaissance and Enlightenment[4] ; in the discussions on this subject usually are overlooked most essential aspects of literary process, which had been realised through literary communities of different types, especially prenational and national. They are important if we want to understand those features of literature, which reflect the national spirit, democratic awareness, social struggle etc. Their objective characterization cannot be given outside the objective ethnic (national) framework. It is precisely for this reason that while examining the people in their role of the creators and subject of literature, in their objective concrete historical definitiveness it is necessary to show what peoples participated in the literary process in such an area as India.

We have to note that what characterises a literary community can be not only this or that language but also a certain system of views, giving rise to multilingual international, often very clearcut literary community, or political framework etc.[5]. In all this language is a very essential factor, the form, in which most directly, yet strictly within the framework of folklore, is for the artistry of words, from which emerges the literature of a nationality, of a people, of a nation. Hence arises the need to study the process of linguistic growth along with lite-

rary-cum-historical process in its background and the literary form which changes in course of the concrete historical and political conditions.

The history of linguistic development of the peoples of India during the last two centuries has attracted attention of many research scholars and were particularly stimulated during the period of the independent development of India in connection with the necessity of linguistic delimitation[6] as well as in connection with cultural growth and the process of democratization of life. Behind the sharp disputes over the problems of language important political and economic problems are hidden. Indian philologists and linguistic experts have produced a number of interesting research-studies on problems of contemporary language situation in the course of which they had to study the past stages of language development and came to profound conclusions.[7] These works help to illustrate the actual course of the development and interaction of languages of peoples of ancient and mediaeval India. This was facilitated by the works of Soviet indologists.[8]

The most ancient literary monuments already testify diversity of linguistic evolution and in particular to multiformity of Vedic language, which took shape on the basis of tribal usage later assimilating dialect distinctions sometimes considered in the plan of chronological succession. Vedic literature in its totality proves the existence of tribes and communities, distinguished by language—this is precisely expressed by words, which may be treated as ethnonyms of terms defining language differences according to territory, such as udichya, madhyadeshiya, prachya. In later works, for instance, in Yaska's Nirukta as also in Buddhist literature we already have strict divisin into literary language (chhandas) and spoken language (bhasha). Both terms already possessed clearly defined categorial meaning. Panini also made similar terminological distinctin and named definite ethno-linguistic communities—Prachyabharate, Madra, Ushinara, Andhakavrishni, Salvgandharva, Kamboja, Traigarta, Bahlika, Suvastu, Kashi, Kachh, Sindhu—Takshashila. Ashoka's inscriptions, the most ancient specimen of scripts in India, show definite imprint of the territories where they were found. Moreover two of these inscriptions were carved in Greek language and another in Aramaic script, thus introducing a foreign element for the first time and showing clearly the political relations and definite external cultural ties. On the other hand during the Kushan period languages of Indian origin go far beyond the borders of India proper—into Central Asia, Khotan and Tibet.

The most ancient literary works of Indian Buddhism present to us such languages as Pali, Magadhi, the socalled Buddhist Sanskrit, and also testify to the existence of Singhal bhasha, the Indo-Aryan language of Ceylon. "Lalitavistara" tells us that when Buddha started learning he asked his teacher which of the sixty-four scripts he was going to teach him, and them enumerated them. Rhys Davids has drawn attention to the fact that early Buddhist texts note the existence of such countries, whose names are ethnonyms, Anga, Magadha, Kashi, Koshala, Vajji, Malla, Chedi, Vamsa, Kuru, Panchala, Machchha, Shurasena, Assakka, Avanti, Gandhara, Kamboja, Andhra, Pandya, Chola, Chera etc.

Material conditions of life and requirements to which they gave rise, necessitated various bonds between all these peoples, communities and scripts, which in its turn led to emergence of various political and economic bounds, linguistic

and cultural communities. If such bonds and communities were imposed forcibly, they would break off sooner or later, leaving behind material and spiritual values, and had been replaced by other bonds more corresponding to natural development. This process, however, became complicated by so many factors, favourable as well as unfavourable. The works which have come down to us cannot be definitely dated and contemporary ideas of how this process took place are often speculative. Nevertheless when we talk about ancient stage of literary process in India we mean it possible and even necessary to speak of the existence of literary communities of different types asynchronic in their development.

In this context it is important to take in view the necessity of clearly distinguishing the terms "world literary-process" and "world literature". Without such discrimination it is impossible to approach the problem of international and national, as aesthetical problem. It seems to us that it would be inappropriate to consider the "world literary process' as a synonym of "world literature", as an eternally existing phenomenon of its own kind. "World literary process" in its general form and in its entire historical totality produces "world literature", emerging precisely at a time when cultural bonds of the peoples acquire (on the basis of political and economic bonds) a global character. It was this objectively determined stage of global literary process which K. Marx and F. Engels had in view when they wrote in "Communist Manifesto" : "In place of the old local and national seclusion and self sufficiency we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sideness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature". (Marx and Engels, Selected works, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1970, p : 39).

Literary process in India is an inseparable integral part of world literary process and demonstrates the same fundamental laws governing the aesthetic perception of the world in the art of letters. At the same time it possesses a certain specific features in that it demonstrates how in the course of history far wider ethnical or religious literary communities emerge and how they come into existence due to the whole course of development of literary contacts. This feature which is more or less common to all other areas, became vividly manifest in the literary development of the peoples of India during the 7th-13th Centuries, when an altogether peculiar process of combination of the then national (regional) literatures of what today comprise India and Pakistan, into an all-India literature took the beginning. It appears that development of local literatures of different communities took place, peoples of ancient India achieved their highest expression in the literatures in Sanskrit, and to a lesser degree in prakrit, and according to the objective historical conditions, a tendency towards all-India integration emerged. Secondly we have two tendencies in literary history—on the one hand towards national definitiveness, and on the other towards clearest manifestation of social, essentially All-Indian character, though preserving regional characteristies and features. These two tenedencies were manifested with different degree in intensity and in different aspects in all literary communities of a given period. The character of such manifestation depended on concrete historical conditions of development of every one of these peoples, as well as on All-Indian factors.

The complexity of linguistic situation in India of that time is convincingly proved in a number of literary works, including also the theoretical works on poetics, theatre, music, most important for the question touched on by us. But in all these works to a greater or lesser extent is clearly carried on a distinction between the language in general as a means of communication, connected with a certain ethnos, and a language as a means of literary creation. "Bharatiyanatyashastra", "Gitalankara", "Kuvalayamala", South Indian literary works name on the whole upto 56 different North Indian and South Indian languages, the names of which to a great extent coincide with the names of Janapadas of Puranas. Along with these languages, works on grammar and poetics also mention languages which had strictly literary importance. Sanskrit, Maharastri, Shauraseni etc. served as a form of literary creation. Some of them originally possessed clear ethnic characteristics and due to several circumstances, such as political factor gained much wider area of use, becoming for a certain period an inter-regional literary languages. Similar qualities of these languages, in particular, of Maharastri, do not at all rule out the question or at least assumption of a possibility of literary creation in all abovementioned languages. Such an assumption is supported by the history of the "Brihatkatha" of Gunadhya, who according to the persistent affirmation of authors of early Middle Ages, wrote his work in Paishachi Parkrit. From the Paishachi itself only a few words have been preserved and the work itself has reached us only in Sanskrit versions. The tragic fate of the poet and his work found their expression in the first book of Somadeva's "Kathasaritsagar".

Of course, it is legitimate to put the question, how far real were these languages and the literatures in them in so far as very little if anything at all, has remained of them. We think that inspite of all the legitimacy of such a question there is no basis for doubting about either participation of peoples speaking these languages at least in folklore or about their contribution to the general literary development though from some of them not even a few lines have been preserved. The reason for this must be sought for in the above noted tendency in antiquity and in early Middle Ages towards integration of languages and literatures. It is reflected in the doctrine about Styles. Strictly speaking there are no authors of works on poetics who would not touch on the question about the content of the categories of style and forms of its manifestation. The position of Bhamaha for instance, shows that it was abstracted from ethnic and territorial differences in poetry, because he was interested in objective aesthetic content of poetical works, no matter in what language and in what country they were produced. For Dandin similar distinctions are real and he ascertains their existence in relation to styles of "Vaidarbhi" and "Gaudi."

Author (or authors) or "Bharatiyanatyashastra" offers most complete and perfect doctrine about styles. In this work on the theory of theatre two groups of styles are offered to be distinguished. One of them is made up of four pravritti (Avanti, Dakshinatya, Ardhamagadhi and Panchali). It takes into account ethnoterritorial differences of aesthetic character. The second one is made up of four vritti (Bharati, Sattvati, Kaishiki, Arabhati). It deals with strictly aesthetic properties, regardless of the territorial differences, having universal character. The doctrine of "Bharatiyanatyashastra", speaking provisionally, synthetizes positions indicated by Bhamaha and Dandin, fusing into a single system the aesthetic peculiarities, which had developed as a result of experience

of all peoples and enriched by this experience, with objective prenational literary communities.

Of exceptional importance for the understanding of literary process in India is the discourse on styles in "Bhartiyanatyashastra". First of all the question is posed why in general Pravrittis are needed. "It must be answered as follows—says "Bharatiyanatyashastra"—on the earth there are in different countries different dresses, languages, customs, these are all the features which go under the name Pravritti. Here it is said there are many countries on the earth, why only four pravrittis ? Well, they have common usage, we must say : in fact the usage that we have, has got common signs, but then people in different countries have different dress, language, morals and manners and in accords with the opinion of peoples, in theatre are also Vritti divided into four subdivisions—in different countries either Bharati or Sattvati or Kaishiki or Arabhati is preferred. For this reason they have been divided according to the countries in harmony with usage. In southern countries—the performances are mainly in the style of Kaishiki, abounding in dances, singing and instrumental music, full or dexterous, delightfully graceful movements of the body etc." (XIV, 34).

In this passage what strikes is the remarkable understanding of the dialectics of literary—historical process in India, organic unity of what could be called prenational characteristics of the literary—historical process and its common highly generalised aesthetic peculiarities, realised through prenational literary communities. We think that it is precisely this dialectical combination of these two tendencies that constitutes the essence of the literary process in India. Undoubtedly, both of them were the result of the processes of social and economic development and bore the mark of social interests.

The last circumstance manifested itself from one side in a vast region of sectant poetry, as a rule, connected with concrete prenational literary communities, and from another side in literary communities, determined by definite ideological frame and possesing All-Indian, strictly speaking, interregional significance. Thus on the borderline of the first and second millennium there existed in Indian literature different types of literary communities, having different functional significance and basing themselves on different human collectives, coming into being in connection with objective socio-economic and ethnical processes, varied intellectual life and political changes.

New political factors emerging between the 7th and the 12th centuries in the life on Indian people in connection with the emergence and spread of Islam and invasions of Arabian, Turkish and Iranian feudaries with their struggle for power over different regions of India and over India as a whole, introduced important changes in the process of linguistic and literary development of her peoples. The slightly exaggerated and one-sided judgement of the socalled Muslim conquest of India requires, in our opinion, certain corrections, amounting mainly to posing every question, relating to Muslim conquest in concrete historical and territorial framework. For instance minimizing the importance of Arab state in Multan and importance of traditional trade relations of the countries of the western seacoast of India with Arab countries do not permit to appraise in proper perspective the actions of Mahmud of Ghazni.

Inspite of already considerable influence of various feudal states headed by Muslim chiefs, on the spiritual life of Indian people, upto the 12th-13th centuries contradictions between Hindu and Muslim traditions did not yet

assume antagonistic character, bore features which are usual for every feudal society, and did not exclude either contacts or direct collaboration. It is well known for instance that there was in Mahmud of Ghazni's army also a Hindu levy. This of course does not mean absence of any contradictions. But from the time when the Muslim rule was established in North India, these contradictions acquire acute, tense character, determined by the interests of rival groups of feudals, who utilized religous faiths, as an important ideological means of "mobilizing" masses.

However, of a greater fundamental character was the process of Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis, brought about by deep processes, connected with interests of democratic masses and reflected in the very course of development in all domains of culture of the people of India in form as well as content, in different measure and degree, depending upon the objective historical conditions of life of every people. Let us note in this context that the very concept of synthesis must not be understood as a balanced, evenly flowing process.

In the questions under consideration, the Hindu-Muslim synthesis showed its influence in the emergence of certain linguistic communities, serving in later period as the basis for Urdu, as an inter-regional linguistic and literary community. But it did not and could not do away with the variety of culture creative processes in general and literary process in particular, did not weaken and did not destroy national differences. In this context one must not just pass over such a circumstance as Hindu reaction to Muslim influence. It is not an accident that South India appears to be for quite a considerable period the guardian of what may be called Hindu orthodoxy. It is precisely from this that phenomena of certain revivalism, sprang up beginning from the period after Shankara and becoming particulary strongly developed in the Kingdom of Vijayanagar, one of the most powerful states in South India, resisting the attempts of Muslim feudatories of North India to penetrate into the South.

Speaking of the so-called revivalism attention must be paid to the fact that although it opposed the ideology of Muslim feudalism, essentially it represented identical phenomenon with it socially, opposing it mainly in the sphere of religion. It was quite legitimate that such a state as Vijayanagar, multinational in its composition, needed a certain single integral ideology, which it found in Hinduism. Its formation was connected with very serious struggle, accompanied, notwithstanding the ideas of traditional religious tolerance, by eradication, upto the point of physical extermination of those not conforming with Hindu orthodox views etc., with struggle against schools of Indian materialism. This was accompanied by the actions of orthodox Muslims against various opposition sects, including Sufism. All these phenomena determined by political and economic interests, revived on elemental striving among the masses to overcome similar contradictions, expressed in numerous different ideological phenomena of the 14th-18th centuries, with as a rule a tendency on the one hand to universalization of religious beliefs (Din Ilahi, Prannathi), and on the other—to their overcoming through the development of humanistic ideas (Kabir, Nanak, Gobind Singh, Vemana etc). They were accompanied also by conservative trends, similar to those which found their expression in positions of such poets and thinkers, as Tulsi Das or Surdas, notwithstanding all concrete differences between their positions.

All these diverse ideological phenomena have one common feature i.e. as a rule they found their expression in works written in popular national

languages. These ideological phenomena are in need of characteristics determined first of all by their actual content, which had to be understood in the context of history of the peoples of India, and not in congeniality to one or another phenomenon in literatures and spiritual life of the people of the West. As distinct from the latter, entering the epoch of transition from the Middle Ages to a new period under the banner of reformation of Christiantity and rebirth of lost humanistic values of Antique World, the people of India approached this period in strivings to overcome Muslim and Hindu orthodoxy lying at the basis of feudal ideology, and develop humanistic ideas inherent to Indian peoples. This process demonstrates affinity of a number of phenomena in their intellectual life with certain aspects of the intellectual life of the people of Europe. In this connection one must not lose sight of the fact that though the Reformation in Europe had a common character, it was realized in concrete national forms. Similarly in India the reformation movements were connected with concrete national environment and promoted the formation of nations.

The question of cultural heritage of the past was posed specifically within the framework of each such movement and must be specially studied. We shall here only note the fact that they proceeded from something common, connected with the cultural past, and in different degrees opposing the cultural past of Mohammedanism which in its turn produced Muslim reformation in India—this was what was common in this question. The difference—and it is the most essential—lays in the fact that if the first one proceeded from the lower social strata, the development of Muslim ideas was primarily connected with higher social strata.

In any case neither the exaggerated importance attached to Vedic tradition, nor any imperial pretensions and attempts at unification of intellectual life could remove the essentially national character of linguistic and literary development, though they had a certain influence of them.

The epoch of great geographical discoveries constituting an integral element of Renaissance, led to colonial expansion of European powers, one of the most important objects of which became India. The struggle of the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English for India was decided already in the second half of the 18th century in favour of the British. Their political and economic domination of India was followed by the retrogression of the intellectual life of the peoples of the country. Already since the end of the 18th century there was conscious opposition to the British and one which nad to be realized methodologically,—until when the British Colonial administration, through the mouth of Macaulay announced (Macaulay T.B., Minute of Indian Education—"Speeches by Lord Macaulay with his Minute on Indian Education" Oxford, 1952) that it was the task of Britain to educate the elite loyal to her. Imitating largely Mughal administrative and fiscal system, the British colonial administration exercised a considerable influence on linguistic as well as literary development. This influence was conspicuous in the fact that English terms, and English vocabulary in general began to penetrate the national languages of the people of India and the English language itself became an important means of communication at administrative and cultural levels and already during the first half of XIX century, it seemed possible for Indians to use it for the purpose of literary creation.

However, at the beginning of the 19th century the linguistic situation did not still give any appreciable place to English language, was distinguished

by a certain degree of consolidation as compared with earlier times, but still did not provide the basis for absolute distinguishing Hindi or Urdu, as self-contained literary—or commonly spoken languages.

In so far as the process of national consolidation and linguistic development in the XIX century and in the first half of XX century were sufficiently widely reflected in indological literature, we are now turning to the period after the achievement of independence and emergence on the territory of the previous British colony of two independent states, India and Pakistan (The latter at the end of 1971 broke up into two i.e. Pakistan proper and the Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh). It is also important to look at the trends of literary process of this period noted by us in the case of the earlier stages.

The period of elimination of colonialism gives rise to varied processes of social and cultural rebirth, and Independent India is one of the most conspicuous and universal examples of this process. Opening the IV conference of Asian and African writers Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji said : "And it is now most confidently hoped that these peoples, who have been looked down upon in some quarters, and condemned because they appeared to have come empty-handed to the concourse of nations, will now, after some of their fundamental difficulties and disabilities have been removed, make a significant and a valuable contribution to the sum-total of human thought and culture and civilisation, leading to its further and fuller extension and enrichment in newer and newer directions."

The linguistic situation and literary process are extremely complex in independent India, in a country with 550 million multilingual population. They have become even more complicated by numerous stratifications of the past, different political and ideological influences, which have been complicated by inter-regional relations of people and nationalities of India. During a quarter of a century a great deal has been done in the interest of normal, friendly relations between peoples and different linguistic groups, of the country, their economic and cultural development in the interest of strengthening national integration of the Indian people. This is an extremely important task, because the peoples of India at present speak many languages and dialects though it has to be noted that 90 % of the entire population speak 14 major languages.

Literature is one of the means for promoting national integration and in order to utilize literature for this purpose "Sahitya Akademi" ("Literary Academy") was created in 1954, the first president of which was Jawaharlal Nehru, an outstanding son of India. Initially oriented only for languages mentioned in the constitution of the Republic of India, it extended its activity subsequently.

Growth of literary development, of culture and arts, increase of participation of masses of the people in active political life are influencing the development of such an important field of ideology as literature. The past quarter of the century has called forth for participation in the literary process of those peoples and nationalities, which on account of one or another circumstance could not formerly develop the creative potentialities inherent in them. The struggle for national integration and especially participation of progressive and democratic forces in it created conditions in which could take place formation of literatures of those nationalities, which formarly were regarded only as parts of other national communities.

The Sahitya Akademi has been conducting work in the recent years in bringing out and studying those specific features which allow to qualify the literary creative works of similar nationalities, as fully developed literatures. It is not as all an accident that S. K. Chatterji emphasized the study of such literatures as Bhojpuri, Maithili, Avadhi, Chhattisgarhi, Konkani, Manipuri, Nevari, Santhali etc. obligatory for an understanding of the literary process. During the years of independence Maithili, Rajasthani, Manipuri, Dogri literatures have been recognized by the Sahitya Akademi. Thus it may be said that the trend to emergence of new national literatures is continuing as a component of intellectual life of modern India.

In contemporary conditions another trend, which has become in fact the leading one, trend towards manifestation of common highly generalised aesthetic and characteristics of various national and local literatures has been acquiring a special force. The concrete content of these aspirations is determined first of all by the correlation of social forces, by the leading trends of national development. And here it would not be out of place to emphasize that the place of progressive ideas, proclaimed by Prem Chand, who called upon Indian literatteurs to consistent and devoted service of the people, will become ever wider and more significant if they take first of all the socially important aspect of literature and no matter to which literary community of contemporary India we turn our attention, we find among most important personalities those which are organically connected with ideas of progress and democracy, even though they sometimes themselves claim to be supporters of this or that modernistic current.

Modern literature is unthinkable without uninterrrupted widening of the reading public, democratic in their overwhelming majority. This is a factor of exceptional importance, affecting both the above-mentioned trends. Obtaining education in his own language—and democracy presumes possibility for every citizen to get general education in his mother tongue—one is qualified for cultural life, which becomes his natural demand. He, of course, thirsts for satisfaction of such a demand first of all through his national literature. Such longing gives rise to objective inevitability of the development of national literatures, not at all equal to artificial revitalization of those which died long ago.

Along with this, all peoples and nationalities of India face a number of patriotic tasks common to the whole nation, determined by objective laws of social development, namely overcoming the remnants of colonialism, rooting out feudal remnants in all spheres of intellectual and material life, ensuring progressive social development, consolidating peace on the earth, as the sine qua non of social progress, grown understanding that successful solution of all these tasks is inseparably connected with idea of socialism.

For a proper understanding of the literary process in India it is important to investigate the development of literary communities and Indian literature as a whole in the light of these trends. Of course, other factors and trends took part in its formation. But dialectical interaction of these two trends, about which we are speaking in the present article, is responsible for the unity of Indian literature.

NOTES

* Selected works of Russian indologists and philogists (Izbrannyye trudy russkih indologov-philologov) M. 1962 pp. 3—8; I.D. Serebriakov, Outline of ancient Indian literature (Ocherki drevneindiyskoy literatury), M. 1971, pp. 27—34

[1] It must be especially noted that there is a detailed extensive elucidation of the problems of Indian literature in the Short literary encyclopaedia (Kratkaya literaturnaya entsiklopediya).

[2] Playwriting and theatre of India (Dramaturgia i teatr Indii) M., 1961; Poetry of peoples of India (Poezia narodov Indii) M., 1962; Modern Indian prose (Sovremennaya Indiiskaya proza), M., 1962; P.A. Grintser, Ancient Indian prose (Drevne-indiiskaya proza) M., 1963; A. S. Sukhochev, From dastan to novel (Ot dastana k romanu) M., 1971; E. P. Chelyshev, Modern Hindi poetry (Sovremennaya poezia Hindi) M., 1964; V. V. Vykhukholev, Singhalese literature (Singalskaya literatura), M., 1969; N. Gurov, Z. Petrunicheva, Telugu literature (Literatura telugu) M, 1967; V. Lamshukov, Marathi literature (Marathskaya literatura), M, 1970; I. D. Serebriakov, Panjabi literature (Panjabskaya literatura), M., 1963; I. D. Serebriakov, Ancient Indian literature (Drevne-indiiskaya literatura), M, 1968; I. D. Serebriakov, Outline of ancient Indian literature, (Ocherki drevni-indiiskoi literatury), M 1971; E. P. Chelyshev, Hindi literature (Literatura Hindi), M. 1968.

[3] Mutual relations between literature of East and West (Vzaimosvyazi literatur Vostoka i Zapada) M., 1961; Problems of Theory of literature and aesthetics in the countries of the East (Problemy Teorii literatury i estetiki v stranakh Vostoka), M., 1964, Problem of formation of realism in literatures of the East (Problemy stanovleniya realizma v literaturakh Vostoka), Materials of discussion (Materialy diskussii) M. 1964; Problems of periodization of the history of literatures of the people of East (Problemy periodizatsii istorii literatur narodov vostoka) M. 1968; Theoretical problems of Eastern literatures (Teoreticheskiye problemy vostochnykh literatur) M. 1969; I. S. Rabinovich, Forty centuries of Indian literature (Sorok vekov indiyskoy literatury) M., 1969; Transactions interhigheducational institutes' science conference on history of literatures of foreign East (Trudy mezhvuzovskoy nauchnoy Konferentsii po istorri literatur zarubeznogo Vostoka) M. 1970; Typology and interconnections of literatures of ancient world (Tipologia i vzaimosvyazi literatur drevnego mira) M. 1971.

[4] I. S. Rabinovich, op. cit. pages 4—9, 112—182, 202—251, E. P. Chelyshev, Hindi Literature M. 1968, pp. 34—35; by the same author. Problem of Indian Renaissance (K probleme indiyskogo Vozrozhdenia), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1972, No 1.

[5] I. D. Serebriakov, Concerning certain aspects of literary-historical process in India (O nekotorykh aspektakh literaturno-istoricheskogo protsessa v Indii), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1967, N 5.

[6] A. M. Dyakov, National Question in contemporary India (Nationalny vopros v sovremennoi Indii) M. 1963, V. I. Karkov, Fight for the creation of national states in independent India (Bor'ba za sozdaniye natsionalnikh shtatov v nezavisimoi Indii) M. 1967; corresponding problems as applied to Pakistan are examined by Yu. V. Gankovsky in his work—National problem and national movements in Pakistan (Nationalny vopros i natsionalniye dvizhenniya v Pakistane) M. 1967,

[7] Ram Adhar Singh. Inquiries into the colloquial speeches of India. Calcutta, 1969.

[8] Let us note among them first of all the work of the pioneer of this problem in the Soviet indology V. S. Vorobyev-Desyatovski "About the earlier period of formation of nationalities of Northern India" (O rannem periode formirovaniya narodnostiyei severnoi Indii), *Journal of Leningrad University*, 1954, No. 12, pp. 153—160.

SKANDA — MURUGA SYNTHESIS

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0.0 Murugah is one of the most popular gods of Tamil Nadu. He is known by various names in various temples dedicated to him. Subramanian, Arumugam, Velan, Velayudham, Velayudhaperumal, Kandan, Dhandayuthapani, Ilaya Pillayar, Swaminadhan are a few of his names. A few of the famous sacred shrines dedicated to this god are Thiruthanigai, Pazhani, Tiruchendur, Kunrakkudi, Thirupparankunru.[1] There are other temples too. Mountain tops are his favourite haunts.

0.1 Murugan is thought of as the presiding deity of the mountain in the Sangam works, "Soyon Meya My Varai Ulagam".[2] In post Sangam works he is called the son of Siva the greatest of Gods[3], while the votaries of Siva adopted the mountain God of the Sangam age as the son of Siva, the devotees of Vishnu related Murugan as the nephew of Vishnu. While in Sangam age he was considered a tribal God unworthy of being worshipped by the social elite of the period, a few centuries later he became so popular among the masses that the elite had to admit him in the pantheon of high gods and invent a relationship between this newly promoted god and their own gods.

1.0 In order to admit him as a member of the elite pantheon he had to be stripped from his tribal trappings and denned with new embellishments. Inspite of the changes the concept underwent in the conception of the votaries during the post Sangam age the image of Muruga preserved quite a few elements. On close scrutiny it reveals his tribal origin. I propose to study the origin of the concept in ancient Tamil Nadu, and the development of the original concept due to subjective growth and external influence.

1.1 Aravamudan[4] has pointed out the similarities in the traits and qualities of Skanda the God of Youth, beauty and valour with gods of Greek, Biblical and Assyrian mythology. Skanda is mentioned in the Rig Veda. That points to the antiquity of the Skanda concept. Aravamudhan has brought out significant similarities between the concepts of Skanda and Dionysus of Greek myth. Skanda is the quality of intoxication of Soma—a vedic drink. Hence his name Soma Skanda means the spirit of joy and merriment. Skanda to ancient Indians was as Dionysus to the ancient Greeks.

Bacchus, the wine god who was identified with Dionysus was born out of the thigh of his father. (He was "not of a woman born"). The composite God Bacchus—Dionysus is the God of Wine[5], embodying the spirit of elation and merriment. Soma is born out of the thigh of the sacrificer (Hother), Soma is identified with Skanda in the Rig Veda itself. While Bacchus was reared in the lake Somle, Skanda was reared in the lake Sravana Hemalaya. The verse in praise of Skanda in post Vedic literature characterise him as the God who fills man's heart with joy like Soma. Bacchus is the darling of young maiden. His numerous amorous episodes were celebrated in Greek myth. Bacchus' passion for Diana is the theme of many legends in Greek mythology. Though

Soma has no particular favourite among the goddessess and women he is generally fond of celestial and human maids.

Aravamudan exceeds the limits of his data when he postulates that Skanda-Muruga concept is not the creation of the Indian mind but the product of synthesis of Indian and Greek concepts. We cannot accept his conclusion for the following reason. In every ancient myth there is a god who personifies traits, qualities, feelings and emotions as we find in Dionysus and Skanda. From the few similarities we find in the traits of Bacchus a spiritual creation of the ancient Greeks, created at a particular stage of their socio-cultural development, and Skanda the spiritual creation of the Indian mind, without taking into account how each of these concepts arose and developed in their particular socio-historical contexts.

1.2 The similarities between the concepts of Moses and Skanda have been pointed out by Indian Scholars. Bible historians believe that Moses lived in the 12th century B. C. He was shorn of his divine nature and humanised by mythmakers of the Old Testement. The authors of the story of Moses conceived him as a mortal, who could work miracles ; derived his power from Jehova. The image of Moses that emerges from the Old Testament has many points of similarity with the image of Skanda in the puranas. Both were favorities of the Supreme God. (Israelites were the chosen people of Jehova & Moses and chosen leader of the Israelites). Skanda was created at the request of the gods, the favourites of Brahma, to be Devasenapathi. Both Moses and Skanda were ordained to lead the favourites of God to Freedom. Both of them came into being on grass near a water front. Just as Moses and a mighty lieutenant Aaron by name Skanda had one, Visaka by name. Moses wrought evil to the eldest born of every woman in Egypt, Skanda had the same power but the female devils who formed his entourage killed the first born male child of a woman if they could lay hands on him. While Moses is said to have fought against a rock, Skanda also fought against a rock, *Kiravuncha*.

2.0 Ancient mythology abounds in prototypes of Skanda. The traits common to such gods are spirit of youth, elation, heroism, power to destroy evil and sympathy for lovers. There are one or more gods who personify these traits in the mythology of each and every tribe and nationality. Skanda and Muruga are Indian representatives of such types of cultural creation.

2.1 Certain artifacts discovered in this century throw light on the antiquity of the Skanda concept, Skanda images have been excavated in the Gangetic plain. In Ujjain coins with Skanda image which were minted in 200—300 B. C. were discovered. The peacock and cock images are inscribed on the reverse. They were issued by Huvishka, a king of the Kushana dynasty. In a later issue of the same dynasty, there were two images facing each other on the face of the coin They have been identified as representations of Skanda and Visaka by Asravamudan and Mahalingam.

2.2 The Youdheyas[7] a warlike tribe who engaged in warfare with many kingdoms in the first country before Christ and a few centuries after issued coins bearing the image of Skanda with six heads and two hands. The legend reads 'Karthikeya'. During the period from third century B. C. to the first or second century A. D., Skanda and Karthikeya were conceived of as Gods of war in Ujjain and the Gangetic plain.

3.1 The Muruga cult in Tamilnadu dates back to the first few centuries before Christ. The oldest classics of Tamil literature contain details of Muruga cult. The concept of the tribal God Muruga undergoes a transformation as a God of the social elite in later works as Paripadal and Thirumurugatruppadai. The transformed image of Muruga has many features comparable to the Skanda image found in Mahabharata and Ramayana. The Sanskrit epics developed tribal myths into legends. The tribal god is elevated to the rank of the war god and the "commander of heavenly army"—Deva Senapathi. To justify his newly acquired high rank in the hierarchy of gods, origin myths were invented. But in Tamil Nadu we find no origin myths or legends about Muruga in the earliest stratum of literature. Muruga is only a spirit of a popular cult. But in the 5th or 6th century A. D. Muruga is associated with war, and myths and legends of Sanskrit literature were absorbed in slightly altered versions to suit the native genius of Muruga and thus a synthesis was made. This synthetic concept is the Muruga of the Paripadal and Murugatruppadai.[8]

4.1 Let us now attempt to present the original concept of Muruga as it was known to early Tamils. Adhichanallur burial site in Tirunelveli District, Tamil Nadu, was partially excavated by a German scholar one hundred years ago. He found huge burial urns, containing skeletons and grave goods. Indian scholars are not agreed on the date of the urns. K. S. Nilakanta Sastry[9] assigns the date 750 B. C. to the site. Aaravamudhan considers that the earliest burial in the site may be assigned the date 1150 B. C. The similarities of the grave goods of Adichanallur and Sumerian grave goods of the pre-Christian era was pointed out by Mortimer Wheeler. The trident golden and silver mouth closers, and the cock symbol on the trident of Adichanallur bear close resemblance to their Sumerian counterparts. K. K. Pillai[10] rightly infers that all these relics point to the earliest Muruga cult.

Thought the relies of Adhichanallur provide evidence for the existence of a Muruga cult several centuries before the Christian era, Tamil classics do not narrate any legends about the origin or exploits of the god with whom these objects must have been associated. Adichanallur is the oldest Chalcolytic site in Tamil Nadu, known to archaeologist. The Adichanallur folk used iron plough share, sickless, iron lamp chains and practised pottery making extensively. "Inside the urns a small pot with husks of a kind of grain was found. They were mainly an agricultural tribe, now and then going on expeditions of hunting.[11]

4.2 The trident should have been an object of worship. There is cock symbol on the trident. That it is totemic is not difficult to infer. The trident points to a user the God of hunting since it was an object of worship and not an ordinary weapon. The cock was the symbol of the spirit of fighting among all ancient people and remains so among many modern Indian tribes.[12] We have many instances of the hunter god being transformed into the war God as hunting societies in the stage of higher savagery advance to the stage of barbarism when warfare assumes importance as advanced tribes launch attacks on neighbouring habitations to seize land and cattle. Pallas Athene, the huntress goddess got transformed into Diana[13] the patron goddess of warriors. Bellona, the goddess of hunters became the goddess of war and later married Mars, good of war of the advanced Greek tribes of the north. These transformations in the spiritual world of the tribal people of the concept of hunter god to war good

coincide with the social evolution of tribes from lower savagery to barbarism and later to civilisation.

4.3 The Vangetic folks and the Tamil folks conceived of a god who was thought to be the patron god of youth, war and love, in the second century B. C. Even before that date certain elements that would in future develop into the convept of a god of youth were present in the cultural spiritual world of the Indian tribes. The concept of Skanda and Muruga in 2nd century B. C,, is a definite point in the stages of development of this concept in the cultural history of the Indian people.

5.1 Let us just turn to the earliest stratum of Tamil literature that provides materials for us to enable us to sketch a description of the concept of Muruga in the formative stage. One of the earliest types of worship in Tamil Nadu is Muruga worship as exhibited in 'Velan Veriattu' (The ritual dance of Vela possessed by the spirit of Murugan). Murugu and Murugan are used synonymously in early Sanga literature. Velan is the priest of this god or more accurately a temporary human incarnation. In Kerala the modern Velichapped is his decendent.[15] Velan Attam is preserved in a folk dance in Kerala which accords in fundamental respects with the descriptions we find in Sangam literature, 2000 years old.[16] Murugan is the son of Korravai (The goddess of victory) Korravai[17], Pazhayol[18], (the oldest Goddess) Kadukal or Kadukizhal[19] (the Goddess who owns the forest), Iyai (the mother). Originally these goddesses were individual tribal Goddesses who at a certain spatio-temporal point and stage of social evolution fused together and was named Korravai. Korravai was all the names mentioned above by her worshipers[21], Murugan was called her son. Cultural anthropologists are unanimous in their opinion that the Mother goddess cult and concept had its beginning when primitive agriculture assumed importance in hunting societies. The hunting goddesses were transformed into mother goddesses.[22] Fertility goddesses were also fused with them[23] and out of the three separate elements arose a goddess with the traits of all of them but the quality of Mother predominating. Sculptures of Mother goddess resembling Cybele of Greece with huge breasts with a child at once breast can be found hear temples of folk goddesses[24] even today. Velan or Murugan was believed to be the son of Mother goddesses Korravai, the synthesised unitary form of many goddesses.

5.2 What are the elements out of which the concept of this god was composed ? The ancient Tamils believed that this god had certain likes and dislikes and possessed certain spiritual qualities. They are :

(1) Murugu—Tenderness, freshness, delicious smell, goodness. These were qualities of Murugu and his action, was possessing young men and women. His particular favourite was Velan—One skilled in the use fo the spear. (2) Murugan—Youth, godliness, Velan, dancing under the divine influence of Murugan, the god of the wasteland. (3) Velan—The hero skilled in the use of spear. Skanda, the worshipper of Skanda.

The concept of a God skilled in the use of spear must have been created only when the spear became a powerful weapon. The spear with a metal head was made by people when they emerged from the neolythic to the metallic age. When metallic spear began to be used in hunting and in war, people began to value highly the skill of men who used the spear. The skill was eminently man's skill. So they conceived of a spiritual counterpart of a spear-using hero as a

god, wielding the spear—Velan. So the word Velan connotes both a god and his priest. It is significant the goodesses of this age were not armed with the spear. The mental image of Velan bore the birthmarks of the stage of social evolution, the basis out of which the idea arose.

5.3 The *Aham gehre* of Tamil literature (*Aham*—love and marriage) abounds in references to Velan and his magical power. The love-lorn maiden pines away with the desire to be united with her lover who had not met her for a few days. The mother of the maiden mistakes her mental ailment for a physical disease. She invites a Velan to perform worship of Murugan and conduct a ritual sacrifice to discover the cause of her daughter's disease. The Velan prepares the sacrificial site, sacrifices a goat, and dances a ritual dance. He discovers and reveals the cause of the ailment and advises that they must conduct a ritual ceremony to get the daughter cured of the ailment. The priest is called Velan, because he dances holding and whirling a 'Vel' (spear). The god who possessed him and spoke through him when he experienced spiritual ectasy was called 'Murugu'.[26]

From all this it emerges that Murugu was feared[27]. He could cause suffering to yound women. His anger could be appeased by sacrifice and dances conducted in his honour. I shall quite a few lines from *Narrinai* (an anthology of the Sangam age) to illustrate the above.

"Murugayarnuthu Vantha Mudhuvoy Vela"[28] (Vela whose body is now filled with the god Murugu).

"Ur Mudhu Velan Kalangu meyppaduthu karanam thooki Muruga ena mozhiyumayin".

"Marrikurala Ruththu, thinai P pirappu irice, Chollakku Kavalai payam KaRangu ThoRam allathu noykku marunthu sagaa".[29]

Note ; The lines quoted are the words of a heroine who is in love with the hero. Velan dances and delivers an oracular message. He attributes her ailment to the anger of Muruga, the god he worships. The heroine ridicules him.)

The heroine is sure that Velan's dance will not cure her ailment. The Velan worships a god of trivial power. The power of the god will not measure against the power of her lover, a great hero of the mountain slopes.

The heroine does not believe in the magical curative powers of the Velan that he derives from his god Murugan. Muruga was worshipped in sacrificial sites and sites of tribal assemblies (Kalam and ManRu). There were very few temples dedicated to Murugan during the early Sangam age. There are references to Murugan Kottam (Temple of Murugan) in Puram (a Sangam anthology) but such references lay for between. The tribal mode of ritual sacrificial worship was far more common than worship in a temple.

6.1 Early Sangam poems speak of a wife of Murugan. Thirumurugaruppadai and Pripadal make mention of two wives of Murugan, Devasena or Devayanai and Valli. Valli was the daughter of the Kuravas, a mountain tribe. Curiously it is also the name of an edible root, *Kuravas*, gathered for food. The concepts of food, plenty and fertility were here associated in the tribal consciousness and personified as Valli the wife of the tribal God, the hunter and warrior. Narriani mentions Valli as the wife of Murugan.

"Murugu punarnithiyan Ra Valli pola.[30]

The idea of a wife for their god was a creation of the Kuravas, hill tribes. whose imagination was conditioned by their tribal social life.

6.2 The further development of the Muruga cult was due both to subjective causes and external influences. The settled civilised life of the river basins of Tamil Nadu, produced changes in their culture. As their life had broken away from its tribal more, the tribal god had also to undergo a transformation to accord with the new values of their life.

Material and Cultural exchanges took place between the people of the extreme south and the north of India. The concept of the war god in North India had also undergone a radical change. These concepts mingled and produced a synthetic concept of Muruga. While the new concepts mixed, the old concept also remained as a relic among the rural folk. Both concepts are described in Paripadal. I shall refer to it later on. But now about the history of the Skanda concept as revealed from Sanskrit sources.

Vedas mention a god, Skanda, but he is a minor god. Agni was the most prominent of gods. Between the Vedic and the Upanishadic periods, a god by name Shanmugan is mentioned in the 'Aranyaka Period'.[31] Shanmugan is no other than Skanda and during this period elavated to the rank of an important god equal with Rudra, Nandi, Thanthi, Garuda, Brahma, Vishnu, Narasimha, Agni, Durga, Aditya. Shanmuga is referred to as Devasenapathi in Gayathri.[32] In Chandogya Upanishad, Narada narrates the sotry of Shanmuga to Sanat Kumara. Narada identifies Shanmugan with Skanda. The evaluation of Vedic Skanda, an unimportant god, to Shanmuga, an important god of the Brahminic pantheon, took place in pre- Buddhistic period, for all the sources referred to above are pre Bhuddhistic texts.

The Mohenjadaro relics point to a concept similar to the Muruga concept of the ancient Tamils. But no formal representation of this god reaches down to us either as literary description or as artistic representation. Hence the link between Mohenjodaro trident, cock and other signs and symbols and the Skanda of the Vedic texts cannot be established. So also the link between the Muruga of Tamil Nadu and the Mohenjodaro cults has not been established from the evidence available to-day. But the links both ways may be discovered if the Mohenjodaro scripts are deciphered.

6.3 The early Vedic texts frequently mention the gods Varuna, Mitra as mighty gods. Later they are not mentioned so frequently as Agni, Rudra and Indra. Agni, Rudra and Indra sprang into prominence in a period when the Aryan tribes were engaged in war against non—Aryan tribes. So the gods of power of destruction became prominent in the middle period of the Vedas.

6.3.1 Skanda became a prominent god at the time when Mahabharata and Ramayana were written. Scholars agree that both the epics were written from oral accounts a few centuries before the Christian era. We may assign them to a Chronological period a few centuries after Buddha's death.

7.1 What is the account of Skanda as narrated in Ramayana? The Rishis and Devas appealed to Brahma the creator to create a commander of the army of gods who will destroy the Asuras. Brahma told them that Agni could impregnate Ganga and beget a peerless hero. The Rishis and Devas implored Agni to carry out the wish of Brahma. Ganga assured the form of

a beautiful woman. Agni rained his semen on her. She gathered it and asked Agni what she should do with it. He commanded her to place it at the foot of the Himalayas. Agni's seed changed into gold, silver, copper and lead. The Himalayas became a mountain of God. The metals combined and a child appeared. The rishis charged Kritika nymphs to nurse him. The child had six heads.

7.11 The story of the birth of Kumara or Skanda is narrated by Rama to Lakshmana when both of them are on their way to Mithila.[33]

7.12 Why did the Rishis and Devas go in search of a commander ? Was there no commander in the world of mythology when Kumara was created ?

7.2 The need for a brave commander arose because many myths had already arisen in which Indra was defeated by his enemies. He was no more invincible. So the mythical world was in need of a new invincible hero who would command the forces of the gods. Ramayana describes the supernatural birth of Kumara. He was created uniting the destructive power of the flood and fire. The personification of these powers were Ganga and Agni.

8.1 The myth found in Ramayana is elaborated in Mahabharata.[34] The Vanaparva of the epic tells the story of the birth of Skanda adding a number of mythical elements to the bare outline or nucleus of the story in Ramayana. The following is the account of the birth of Skanda according to Mahabharata. Indra was vanquished many times by his enemies the Dhanavas. His spirit sank. He wandered in search of a hero who would command his forces and bring victory to the Devas. He arrived at the foot of a mountain named Manthara. He heard the voice of a woman calling for help. As he turned in the direction from which the vioce come, he saw a girl in the grip of an Asura named Kesi struggling to fere herself. Not loosening his grip over the girl the Asura fought Indra with the left hand. Indra defeated him. Kesi escaped. The girl told Indra that she was Devasena, the daughter of Prajapathi. Kesi had carried off her sister who was in love with him. Thought Devasena did not like him, Kesi attempted to take her by force. She claimed relationship with Indra through Dakshyanani, his sister. She prayed that she must be married to the mightiest of gods. There were good portents signifying that her wish will be fulfilled. Indra told her that a bloody war will be fought between the Devas and Dhanavas. Indra foresaw that a god born on a certain Muhurtha would be mightiest god in the universe. He prayed to Brahma to create a god at that Muhurtha. Agni had been invited by the seven rishis to a yagna. Seeing the wives of the seven rishis at the sacrificial site, he was seized with the desire to enjoy sexual pleasure with each one of them. The wives of the rishis spurned his amorous advances. He became the fire burning in the sacred pits in their cottages and tried to touch them with the tongues of flame. He was unsuccessful in his desperate efforts to bend them to his will. Driven to desperation by his failures, he decided to commit suicide. He went to a forest with the intention of hanging himself. A woman, Swaha by name, lived there. She was in love with Agni. She wanted to prevent him from carrying out his purpose. She assumed the form of the wife of a Rishi and received him. Agni took his pleasure on her. She told him that each of the wives of the Rishis had agreed to stay for a night with him by turns. Swaha assumed the shapes of six wives of the Rishis in turn and enjoyed pleasure for six consecutive days. Her magical power was no avail to her when she wanted to transform herself as the wife Arundhadhi, the paragon of chastity. She gathered the semen of Agni

six times and entrusted it to a falcon named Gridhi. He deposited it at the foot of the Himalayas. It was a spot haunted by Rakshasis and Rakshasas. The six portions of Agni's semen developed and a child arose out of it. An embryo was formed on the third day. On the fourth day it became Guha. It emitted red light and a red cloud hung over it. The infant roared like a lion. Two asuras who heard the terrible noise rushed towards the child. The child caught hold of the two Asurs. It blew a trumpet and gave a roar. The earth trembled. The gods and men prayed to the child to save them from disaster. The child demonstrated his supernatural strength, throwing a spear at a mountain called Kiravuncha. The spear passed through the mountain and reduced it to bits. The gods blamed Swaha and Agni for having brought forth such an'infant terrible'. Swaha promised to pacify her son.

8.11 Viswamithra had kept watch over Agni's amorous escapades. He knew that the terrible infant was destined to become Devasenapathi. He performed all the rituals appropriate for the initiation of the son of a god to Skanda.

Fearing danger from this mighty infant the gods persuaded Indra to kill him. Indra was reluctant to kill the child. The gods taunted him saying that he was not powerful enough to kill the child. The gods set the seven mothers to carry out their vile purpose. Agni intervened and set the attempts of the gods at nought. The seven mothers adopted Skanda as their foster child. Agni and the seven mothers declared that Agni was the child's father and the women were his mothers. A mighty goddess, Krotha Samudhbava, armed with a trident offered to protect him against his enemies. She was the daughter of the red sea. Blood was her food.[35] She embraced Skanda and adapted him as her son.[36]

8.12 Then a battle was fought between Skanda and Indra in which Indra's army was defeated. Indra threw his mighty weapon at Skanda. But it was powerless to harm him. It caused a slight injury at his side. A god issued forth from the wound. Indra lost all hopes of victory when he saw two mighty gods ranged against him. He used for peace offering Devasena is marriage to Skanda. The marriage celebrations were held in Indra's palace.

8.13 Two more pieces of information from the same source complete the picture of Skanda.

Having covered himself with glory in his battle with Indra, Skanda plans to build up a mighty army. Skanda and Visaka stole male children from the wombs of pregnant women to bring them up to be trained as soldiers. Many mother gooddesses adopted him as their son—his first nurses the Kritikas, then Vineetha, and Krotha Samudhbava. New mothers take the place of the old mothers, Brahmi, Maheswari and other old mother goddesses. Skanda and Visaka form an army of yound girls who adapt them as their foster fathers. They became unmarried mothers of great heroes.

8.14 The following piece of information throws light upon his rank among the gods of the Brahminic pantheon in the epic age.

Red colour is associated with Skanda. His body is red in colour and he wears garments red in colour. He was called Sura (brave hero). Lakshmi worshipped him. The Devas requested him to become Indra. Even Indra was prepared to vacate his office in his favour. But Skanda rejects the offer. He is content to serve Indra as the supreme commander of his army and promises to destroy the Asuras, the enemies of Indra.

8.15 When he assumes charges as Devasenapathi, Siva bows before him and sings his praise. Devasenapathi is married, and his spouse is identified with two goddesses Srinivali and Lakshmi.

8.16 The goddesses Vineetha and Krotha Samudhbava adopt him as their son. New mothers take the place of old mothers Brahmi and Maheswari. He endows his mothers with the power of afflicting children with deadly diseases. These goddesses have to be propitiated if he wanted their children to a free from diseases. The mothers beg boons from their son. Swaha's wish to be worshipped with Agni is granted.[37]

8.2 By a trick of substitution of the name of Rudra for Agni, Skanda is made the son of Rudra. Swaha then became Uma.

8.3 In all these accounts, the name of his other wife Valli finds no mention. Late Sanskrit myths created in South India tell the story of his marriage with Valli, the tribal maiden.

9.1 These origin and development-legends spring from tribal myths of different tribal communities. Maheswari and Brahmi are highly developed concepts of the Mother goddesses. They were Skandas' mothers. Later on Skanda was conceived of as a victorious hero. In the spiritual world of the ancient Indian tribals the mothers lost their prominence while the warrior hero was glorified. The glory of Skanda put the mother goddesses in the shade. New warrior mother goddesses adopt Skanda as their son and attempt to shine in borrowed glory. Indra was created tin the image of tribal heroes. He wielded the Vajrayudha made of human bone. He also suffered many defeats at the hands of his enemies. The metallic age was ushered in. The trident, bows snd arrows were used in war. The Devas needed a hero who could use weapons made of metals. The need of the material world was reflected as a need in the spiritual world. To fulfill this demand, the tribal people transformed the old tribal hero into a hero skilled in new weapons. This ideal creation was Skanda. The old tribal hero who could command a few hundred warriors and who fought with primitive weapons had lost ground to large armies fighting with metallic weapons. A material revolution in the rapid development of technology caused a revolution in the spiritual world. Their concepts of warrior god undervent a revolutionary change. The result was the creation of a new type of warrior-hero god integrating the old concepts with the new, subordinating and transforming old concepts to the needs of the new situation. Skanda's association with gold, silver and lead and the golden mountain puts is in mind that he is a god of the metallic age.[38]

9.2 Skanda's master bias is heroism and power. He is the personification of the spirit of youth, courage, and might. He is skilled in the use of new weapons and commands a specially trained army. This is only a spiritual fulfillment of a material need. This tribal god was endowed with a combination of the power Agni (fire) and Ganga (Flood). Later he came to be conceived of having a body made of metal with the power of fire. In the first stage Indra was the Vedic god of war. He must be related to the new god in the second stage. His adopted daughter was married to Skanda. Her name Devasena means the army of the Devas. The word would mean a woman as well as an army. The concept of Indra is older than the Skanda concept. Indra is older, has suffered defeat, and is not able to lead his army into battle, is not skilled in new weapons. His weapon is made of the bone of a Rishi, Thatheechi. It could cut off the wings

of mountains but could not penetrate through rocks. But Skanda is young, defeats powerful Asuras on the fourth day of his birth, defeats Indra himself and uses the trident, bows and arrows made of metal. Even at his birth he is associated with metals, gold, silver and lead. The trident being more powerful than Indra's weapons, it could split rocks.

9.21 In the Mahabharata account of Skanda, his father is Agni. At the time Agni's glory waned Rudra's glory waxed, Rudra was substituted for Agni as the father of Skanda.

9.22 Skanda's relationship with mother goddesses, Matruganas, Grihyas the red colour and blood reveals his tribal origins.

9.23 His relation with Indra, his elevation to the status of a war god and the establishment of a relationship with Rudra and the subordination of mother goddesses reveal a stage of development of the Skanda concept, in consonance with stages of social evolution.

10.0 Let us now turn our attention to the development of the Muruga concept from the elements of Velan cult and myths in Tamil Nadu. In the early centuries of Sangam era tribal organisation was destroyed by a consideration of settled advanced agricultural communities.[39] Sangam classics are replate with references to the defeat and destruction of tribes which tried to stand up against the avalanche of the agricultural expansion. Numerous tribes are mentioned in Purananooru. On the ashes of tribal communities agricultural communities and Kingdoms arose. In the 3rd century A.D., Chola, Pandya and Pallava kings ruled over parts of Tamilnadu. The material base had changed so much as to cause a change in the spiritual superstructure. Thus the Velan concept of the tribal world was mature to unite with the Skanda concept that found its way through the Pallava Kingdom to the south after Kalidas wrote Kumara Sambavam, the story of Skanda.

10.1 The Muruga, worshipped by Velan had certain qualifications to be transformed into a god of war and victory. He wielded the spear (Velan), he was tall and hefty (Nedu Vel), he had magical powers (to cause and cure diseases), he was the patron god of lovers. His consort was the embodiment of tribal conception of womanhood and fertility (Valli). The essential components of the concept are comparable to the Skanda and Shanmuga concepts recorded in early Sanskrit literature.

10.2 The Skanda concept of war god and god of victory was carried into Tamilnadu in about the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Then a fusion of the two concepts took place. Paripadal describes the results of the fusion. The tribal concept of Velan Muruga and the advanced concept of Skanda fused together changing them as elements in a chemical fusion. Still the cultural relics of the tribal past lingered among the masses.

10.3 Paripadal gives a descriptions of the worship of Muruga in temples and outside the temples dedicated to him. Inside the temple Muruga is represented in anthropomorphic form with 6 heads and 12 hands. Kings, nobles and soldiers worship him. They crave boons of victory, long life, wealth and happiness. Women separated from their lovers or husbands pray to him to grant them their wish to be united with them. They believe that Muruga is the god of war who should be worshipped by kings and soldiers. He would grant their prayers for victory in war. Women pray to him to be united with theirlovers and to be blessed with children.

10.3.1 The rural folk worship Velan—Murugan outside the temple. A spear adorned with garlands and a red cloth is carried by Velan, the folk priest. It is smeared with sandal paste. A sheep is tied with a rope to a Kadamba tree. Kadamba is sacred to Muruga. People prostrate before the tree and the spear. There is plenty of food and drink ready to be served to the worshippers. The worshippers think that the happiness that one hoped to enjoy in heaven could not equal the happiness of the worshippers who at esacrificial food and danced in ecstasy, before the tree and spare, Muruga gave to his worshippers.

Two different concepts of Muruga are evident from these descriptions : the conceptions of the elite and that of the folks. The same poem that gives the description of two kinds of Muruga worship also tells the story of the birth of Muruga worship also tells the story of the birth of Muruga, whose idol was worshipped in the temple.

10.32 Siva abstained from sexual union with Uma. Siva's accumulated semen was ejected. Indra thought of creating a mighty god out of it. He asked the seven wives of the seven Rishis to bear the child of Siva. They refused thinking that they would lose their chastity by doing so. So Indra turned the semen of Siva into ash by inciherating it in sacred fire. He divided it into seven parts and gave it to the Kritika nymphs. One of them refused to eat, but the others consumed it. They became pregnant. They delivered six children on the bed of a huge lotus flower. The child roared like a lion. Indra threw his Vajra to kill the child. But the six children fused into one child with 6 heads and 12 hands and fought Indra with several weapons. Indra made peace with the child.[40]

Here the poet makes Muruga the son of Siva. Uma is not his natural mother. Six Krithika nymphs bore him. Indra fought against the child with Vajra. The child fought back with metallic weapons.

The story has all the thematic elements of the legend as it had developed in Ramayana and Mahabharata. The problem to find a father for Skanda was solved in Mahabharata and Ramayana. Agni became the father. He was not born by any woman's womb in Sanskrit sources. Later when Rudra gained prominence among the gods of the Brahminic pantheon a change in paraentage was introduced, Rudra became his father. All his mothers were adoptive mothers. He acquired new mothers. Indra was defeated by Skanda.

10.4 What are the essential changes introduced in the Tamil legend ?

At the first stage he was the son of Korravai (the goddesses of Victory) and the mother-goddesses. His father's name is not mentioned. Late myth-makers found for him a father. He was the 'god who ate cloud' (Kaari Undi Kaduval). It is difficult to identify him with any god known to the Tamils at that age. But this poem in Paripadal says that his natural father was Siva. But his consort Uma was not his mother. He was borne by the Krithika nymphs, who are identified with the wives of the seven Rishis.

11.1 The difference can be explained easily taking into account the specific cultural situation in Tamil Nadu. Agni and Rudra were not important and powerful gods in Tamil mythology. Siva was emerging as the most powerful of gods in the spiritual world of the Tamil people. He is called "the great one who was never born" (pirava Yakkai perion). Agni was only a servitor to chaste and virtuous woman.[41] Rudra was quite unknown. Therefore the transformed Velan-Murugu concept had to be linked to another concept familiar to the

Tamils. That was the 'Great God' concept created by the Tamils. He was Siva. He emerged out of the spiritual development engendered by the rise of large Kingdoms. Agni and Rudra of the Sanskrit legend were substituted by Siva as father of Skanda. Uma was unknown as the consort of Siva. She became his consort after Muruga was born. According to the Sanskrit sources he was not born of any mother. The Aryan tribes were strongly patriarchal. So Skanda needed no mother to be born. But the survivals of the matriarchal past in Tamil Nadu was very strong. The goddesses were the favourites of the folk.

All the myths centring round Agni in Sanskrit mythology are donned on Siva in Tamil mythology. Agni's exploits with the seven wives of the Rishis are attributed to Siva. But the women spurned Agni's entreaties. But Siva being a great god, the women succumbed to him. The semen enjected before he approached the women was carried by Uma to a pond and thrown into it, were Muruga was born.

11.2 The transference of fathership was thus achieved by substituting Siva for Agni. Swaha is out of the picture because the wives of the Rishis succumbed to the charm of the Great God. A representation of the scene of the wives of the Rishis succumbing to Siva (of the Pallava period), known as Bikshadana[42] is found extensively in what was the old Pallava Kingdom. It throws light upon the mechanism by which the transference of parentage of Skanda—Muruga took place.

11.3 This composite image was set down in narratives that were written down from the time of Paripadal. Skandapurana is an elaboration of this image without further modification of the essential thematic structure and qualitative transformations of the elements in the concept of Muruga. The Skanda image fossilised at this stage because it was set down to writing in epics. Hence it resists change and modification.

11.4 The Velan cult is described in Aham, Puram, Ainkurunooru, Narrinai and other early Sangam works. Tholkappiyam speaks of Seyon (the red one) as the patron god of the hill tribes. The author of this work associates red colour with the god of the hills. Earlier reminds us of the colour of the sun, fire and blood. He is also called Sevvel. Vel is the title of chiefs and kinds of small Kingdoms. It emphasises the fact that Seyon was the god of the hilly region. He is mentioned as the patron god of Paalai (desert) region in still later works. The worship of Muruga had by then become popular, cutting across regional barriers. At the time when the Kurunthogai anthology was collected he had attained such immense popularity that he is invoked in a prayer song in Kurunthogai. In this song his exploit of throwing the spear at a hill is mentioned. The same exploit is mentioned in Mahabarata. It can safely be assumed that this information is borrowed from Mahabharata.

12.0 The earliest poems about Muruga point to his association with the cock symbol. There can be no doubt that it was a totemic symbol of a hill tribe. Later works mentioned that his mount is the peacock. These two symbols point to a fusion of the cultures of two different tribes who worshipped a god of the hill with different totemic symbols. D. P. Chattopadhyaya has proved that when our ancients began to conceive of gods in anthrophomorphic form, the earlier totemic symbols were associated in subordination to the human form. The reference to the war with Soora padma is found earlier in Sanskrit texts especially in Mahabharata. There is no difficulty in assuming that the

Tamil accounts of the war with Soora were borrowed from the epic as this information is absent in Tamil texts of the early Sangam period.

Perumbanarruppadai and Murugarrppadai contain the information that Muruga fought and killed 'Soor'. These two works are assigned to the third and the sixth century respectively by Vaiyapuri Pillai.

12.1 The most glaring contrast is found in the parentage of Skanda and Muruga. The question of fatherhood in Sanskrit texts and Tamil Texts was discussed elaborately in the previous sections. Let us turn to the question—who was the mother of Skanda ?

12.2 According to Sanskrit texts, Skanda was born of no woman. He developed from the seed of Agni or Rudra. This is a patriarchal conception.

12.2.2 According to Tamil texts Vuruga was the son of Mother goddess, goddess of victory, goddess of fertility. He boasts of no father in the early Sangam age.

13.1 After extensive cultural diffusion through oral and written transmission of the Sanskrit epics and Skanda lore, the Tamils found a father for him in their own pantheon of gods. Siva was made his father. But he could not by himself become the father of Muruga. As Muruga had already a mother, the mother had to be related to the new father. Here a mistake arose. Korravai had become an archaic goddess. Still the memory of Muruga as the son of a woman could not be obliterated. So the Kritikas who were identified with the six wives of Sapta Rishis were made to carry the child and deliver it. The seventh wife Arundhathi was exempted because she had already become famous for her chastity in Tamilnadu. She could not be made to bear the seed of a god who was not her husband. Thus the mythmakers of Tamil Nadu ingeniously solved the problem of the parentage of Muruga.

13.2 Then the question of his consorts was also solved by the Tamil poets as ingeniously as the problem of parentage. In Tamil texts of the earliest period he had a wife, a tribal girl named Valli, the personification of the sustaining power of food, fertility and joy. According the Sanskrit texts he was married to Indra's adoptive daughter Devasena. She was won as a trophy in war with Indra. As the two cultures came into contact a synthesis was effected. Muruga's first wife became the second wife and Devasena Skanda's only wife became the first wife. The Sangam tradition requires that a hero wins a bride in love. It had to be preserved while in the new changed situation Muruga who had to be conceived of as a war-god required that he must win a bride as a trophy in war. Both requirements were satisfied by presenting two wives to him, Devasena as his first wife and Valli as his second wife.

14. In conclusion I wish to remark that people everywhere in the world had conceived of a god like Skanda-Muruga. This concept appears to have originated when tribes evolved into a higher stage of social organisation when metals came to be used extensively in the process of production and war. The traits common to such gods are youthfulness, might, skill in war, amourous nature, power to subdue natural forces, skill in using new weapons, the power to grant boons—boons of victory, child and wealth. At that stage of development of society, many tribal myths entered into the crucible of cultural fusion and produced a new concept of a god of Youth, love and heroism in war, the traits of a heroic god of war.[43]

NOTES

[1] In these towns in Tamil Nadu there are temples dedicated to Muruga.

[2] Tholkappiyam. The author of this work assigns the status of the presiding deity of the mountain to Seyon (the red one). He is identified with Murugan by the commentators.

[3] Thiru Murugarruppadai and Paripadal later Sangam works relate Murugan and Siva as father and son.

[4] Discussion on Skanda cult — Journal of the Archaeological Society of South India — 1962—1965.

[5] (*a*) Greek myths—Graves.
(*b*) The Golden Bough—J. G. Frazer.

[6] Mylai Seeni Venkataswamy—Youdeya Gana—Aaraichi—Vol. II, No. 2.

[7] Discussion on Skanda Cult—Journal of the Archaelogical Society of South India. 1962-1965.

[8] N. Vanamamalai—Muruga Vanakkam—(Tamil) Aaraichi—Volume I, No. 4.

[9] S. Neelakanta Sastry—S. I. History.

[10] K. K. Pillai—History of Tamil Nadu.

[11] Personal observation—N. Vanamamalai. Also list of relics excavated at Aadichanallur—Madras Museum.

[12] Totemism among Indian tribes—A chapter in "Verriter—Elwin and his tribal world".

[13] Kroeber—Cultural Anthropoly—Chapter on Totemism.

[14] D. P. Chattopadhyaya—Lokayatha—Chapter on Gauri.

[15] K. K. N. Kurup—Kadankottumakkam — Velachappad is both a performer of ritual and a priest who conducts rituals.

[16] P. L. Swamy—Velan—Vazhipadu (Velan worship) Aaraaichi Vol. II, No. 2.
Swamy sketches the ritual dance of Velan of the Sangam age and describes a modern folk dance of Kerala that appears to be the direct surviving practice of the ancient rite. The concept of Muruga is inferred from the actions of Velan by me.

[17] Muruga is referred to as the son of Korravai in all preparipadal works, Navinai, Puram, Aham, Kurunthogai etc.

[18] This Goddess is mentioned in works of the early Sangam age as goddess of victory and mother of Velan.

[19] Kadukal is mentioned in paripadal. An introductory verse states that there are five invocatory poems devoted to her. But the text does not include any poem about her. Most probably Kudukal had by the time the anthology was collected had become archaic.

[20] Aiyai is mentioned as the Goddess of the Eyinars (a hill tribe and palai people). Her cult survived upto the age of Silappadikaram.

[21] The Goddesses who became archaic were all fused in Korravai who alone survived to the classical age.

[22] Gordon Childe—Social evolution. The story of Bellona—Greek myths-Groves.

[23] James Frazer—The Golden Bough—Diana of Nemi.

[24] Krober—Cultural Anthropology ; D. P. Chattopodhyaya—Mother Goddesses in Lokayatha.

[25] He is frequently addressed as 'Korravai Selvan', the son of Korravai in Thirumurugarruppadai and Paripadal.

[26] This description is a telescopic summary of many descriptions of Velan and his dance in Narrinai.

[27] The expression 'Anangudai Velan' (Velan who instils fear because of his power to inflict suffering).

[28] Kurunthogai—(An anthology of poems of erotic themes—1st century A. D.) line 362.

[29] Aha Nanooru (Same as 28. Anthology consists of 400 poems, 3rd century A.D.) No. 293.

[30] Narinai (An anthology of the genre of 28 and 29). No. 82.

[31] Discussion on Skanda cult. (Journal of the Archaeological Society of S. India) 1962—1965.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Valmiki—Ramayana (Tamil Translation. Adayar publication Balakanda—Mithilai —Padalam).

[34] Vyasa—Maha Bharatha (Vana Parva—The story of the birth of Skanda).

[35] The ceremony of adoption in ancient Greece is described by F. G. Fraser in the 3rd chapter of "Golden Bough". In Greek myths we have a description of the rituals of adaption. It is interesting to find that Kurotha Sumudhbava goes through the ritual of embracing Skanda just as the Greek and Roman Goddesses did when they adapted sons.

[36] The relative prominence of mother goddesses and Skanda is reversed with the introduction of metallic implements and weapons. Thus mothers beg boons of their son. One of them adapts her son's weapon, trident.

[37] Vide Purananooru—Refers to incessant wars between Vels, Vallals and Kos against kings. These wars were waged by kings against tribes with the aim of destroying tribal organisation and tribal way of life and integrate them by means of violence with the settled communities under the rule of Kings.

[38] The old myths conceived of Skanda as having been out of the Union of the flood (Ganga) and fire (Agni). These were thought of as mighty natural forces of destruction. But after the introduction of metallic technology the power of metals was understood and the god who was born of Agni and Ganga changed into metals and acquired their power.

[39] The whole account, the two forms of Muruga worship and the story of his birth is found in a single poem in Paripadal. (Paripadal 5).

[40] He was a servitor of chaste women like Kannagi (Chilappadikaram) and Sita (Kamban's Ramayana).

[41] A representation in sculpture of this legend is found in Tanjore Art gallery and and Madras Museum. It is named Bikshadana.

[42] Bellona, an earlier concept of the Greeks was the goddess of war. But when the concept of Mars as god of war replaced the concept of the goddess of war, she was married to him. But here the earlier goddesses were made the mothers of Skanda.

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RENAISSANCE IN INDIA

E. P. Chelishev

PART I

Historical Background

During recent years, Soviet indologists as well as progressive Indian scholars have felt an even greater urge to examine the development of the Indian culture in relation to the historical laws governing world culture, so that while bringing out the characteristics of Indian culture, processes typologically similar to European culture, its special national features are not ignored.

N. I. Conrad's assertion that the culture of a number of Eastern countries in the middle ages had a character of renaissance compels us, in particular, to reexamine the already formed views about the character and the manner of the development of Indian culture in the middle ages, and permits us to examine this culture in the single stream of the world cultural process. N. I. Conrad justifiably writes that "The question of renaissance ceases to be a question of the history of some individual country and becomes a question of world history. Along with this appears a new question : the forms and the levels of the Renaissance in individual countries- - -

"We know, for example, that in Germany the spirit of Renaissance, was seen most vividly in the Reformation, i.e. in the reorientation of religious consciousness. It is possible that in its own sphere—as Buddhism—this appeared in Japan. In short, it is not always necessary that the elements of renaissance in other countries also developed in the same spheres in which they developed in the first renaissance country".[1]

The question, as to whether there was in the history of Indian culture a period typologically similar to the Renaissance in Europe, different scholars answer differently, not always following strictly and exactly the principle of historical method.

To express the concept of "Renaissance" in Hindi and some other Indo-Aryan languages, words of Sanskrit origin are used : Navjagran (literally 'new awakening'), punarjagran (lit. 'Awakening afresh, anew'), punarutahan (lit. 'rise anew, afresh'). Interpreting the meanings of these words, found in the "Literary Dictionary of Hindi", Harshnarayan writes, that they serve to indicate the "transitory period from the middle ages in Europe to the modern age". Further the Indian literary critic notes that these terms can indicate the Gupta Period (4th—5th Century A. D.) and also the period in the development of the Indian culture after 1857.[2] Lakshmisagar Varshnei writes—"In the history of modern Hindi literature, the term 'punaruthankal' may be used to indicate its first stage or the period of Harishchandra".[3]

This point of view is quite widespread among the scholars in India and in other countries. For example, calling the development, which took place in

the country during the period of Gupta empire, the 'Hindu cultural renaissance', Indian scholar B. N. Luniya notes, "European authors also characterise this period as the period of Hindu renaissance and compare it with the period of Pericles in the Greek history.." In the sphere of religion, the national spirit found its expression in the phenomenon, which Max Müller called Hindu renaissance. Thus the Gupta period is considered to be the area of the awakening of Brahmanism. At the same time, however, B. N. Luniya expresses doubts about the validity of the use of the term 'renaissance' in relation to the Indian culture of the Gupta period. "The period of the Guptas was more of a period of blossoming (flourishing) than of renaissance", he concludes.[4] According to the English indologist A. L. Basham the spread of Buddhism with its distinctive teaching had a great influence on Indian culture during this period. He writes that "in the best days of the Gupta Empire Indian culture reached a perfection which it was never again to attain. At this time India was perhaps the happiest and most civilized region of the world".[5]

Majority of the Indian authors do not use the word 'renaissance' (navjagran, punarjagran, punaruthan etc.) only in a narrow terminological sense, but indicate by it the general development in the second half of the 19th century, connecting it, above all, with western influence.[6] Nagendra writes, "Then came the Western traders who brought with them Western manners and customs and who were quietly followed by Christian missionaries. The direct contact and conflict between the East and the West gave birth to modern India".[7] Humayun Kabir notes, "In the beginning the conflicts with the West brought to the Indians a feeling of perplexity, and this had such a great influence on some of the reformers, that at times, it appeared, that they were becoming blind imitators of the West. Today such excesses may seem strange to us, but if these workers had not adopted the western ideas bravely and openhartedly, the Indian renaissance would not have taken place so early, and would not have entailed such far-reaching consequences".[8] Many students of modern Hindi literature use the term 'renaissance' to indicate the initial stages of its development. Rajnath Sharma relates the new period in Hindi literature to the "period of renaissance" (punarijivan ka kal).[9] Prabhakar Machwe considers, that "Bharatendu laid the foundation of the new cultural renaissance (naya sanskritik punarjivan)".[10]

Some Indian scholars feel that the main cause of the development of the Indian culture in the 19th century is the internal processes of social and spiritual development of the country and an attempt to reassess their own cultural heritage, and not the influence of the West on India. The well-known poet and writer Ramdhari Singh Dinkar notes, "The beginning of renaissance in India was called in, first and foremost, by the advancement of the ideas of Vedanta, which played an important role in the conception of Buddhism and stimulated the philosophy of Shankar. Kabir and Nanak asserted the truth of life on their basis ; Ramanuj started the Bhakti movement after interpreting anew these ideas———. Similarly the renaissance which starts with Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand, Vivekananda, and which is continuing even today, was also started by the consideration of the ideas of Vedanta".[11]

While understanding the usage of the term 'renaissance' in relation to Indian culture of the 19th century, some Indian scholars use it with some stipulations. Atulyachandra Gupta, using the term for the Bengali literature of the 19th century, gives the following clarification—"In 'Bengal Renaissance' the

term 'Renaissance' has no doubt been copied from the celebrated European Renaissance after the end of what Europeans call their dark ages. But different slightly similar things are often called by the same name. It would be worse than useless if owing to this similarity of names use try to find out to our satisfaction, and such attempts rarely fail deeper and real similarities between the great European and the parochial Bengal renaissance in their causes and development. And similarly the conquest and occupation of a large part of India by the English East India Company brouht Bengal into contact with the civilisation and culture of Europe and caused the Bengal renaissance"'.[12] Notwithstanding the certain amount of ambiguity, the quotation is of obvious interest. The word 'renaissance' is used to indicate not only the development of Indian culture during the Gupta Empire, but also the modern period in its develop ment.

Some authors describe the flourishing of culture in India during the middle ages as "renaissance". For example, K. M. Panikkar talks about the "remarkable revival of the 14th—15th centuries", noting that it" led not only to the establishment of Vijayanagar but also took the form of the revival of Hindu thought ———(and) growth of new religious movements".[13] Jawaharlal Nehru also expressed similar views.[14] Some Indian authors use the term 'renaissance' (Punarjagran) in the narrow sense of the term to describe Indian culture (of 15th—16th centuries). Amongst these, one must first of all name Satyakam Varma. Examining the Hindi literature connected with the Bhakti Movement, he uses the term "Literature of cultural revival' (Sanskritik punarjagran ka sahitya), only for this period (1400—1620). "The Bhakti poets and the poets of cultural revival appeared in Hindi literature after the spread of Ramanand's influence and when in North India, Kabir had composed his poetry".[15] Satyakam Varma calls this new period in the development of Hindi literature, the "period of evolution" (Utkranti yug).[16] Indian scholars Hazariprasad Dwivedi, Ramvilas Sharma and a few others, while in essence noting a number of renaissance characteristics in the literature of the Bhakti period, do not refer to it as renaissance. Thus, the Indian authors have made extremely useful observations on the question which interests us.

Soviet indologists are not of one opinion on the question, as to whether Indian culture of the middle ages displays the characteristics peculiar to the renaissance culture. Of late, attempts were made for the first time in the works of indologists to reveal the renaissance character of Indian literature of the middle ages, and specially of the literature which is connected with the religious and philosophical ideology of Bhakti.[17] In some of the in researches in Indian literature of the middle ages Soviet scholars although finding some individual renaissance characteristics, do not term them as such.[18]

N. A. Vishnevskaya has to be included amongst the indologists-literary critics, who deny the existence of a typological similarity between the Bhakti poetry in India and the literature of the Reanaissance in Eurooe. She describes as incorrect "The point of view of the scholars who believe that there existed some phenomena in the Indian culture of 14th—16th centuries, which are analogous to the European Renaissance, and which allow (us) to speak of an existence of renaissance in India".[19] However the question is of typologically similar phenomena in these literatures and not of similarities. We are in no way inclined, as she puts it "to identify the Indian poetry of the middle ages with the literature of the Renaissance in Europe".

N. A. Vishnevskaya considers the urge to understand the humanistic essence of the Bhakti poetry as a "questionable tendency which is beginning to appear of late in indology". According to her point of view, in the works dedicated to a search of typological similarities between Indian culture of middle ages and the renaissance culture of Europe, the Bhakti poetry is read literally in its down to earth sense.[20] N. A. Vishnevskaya justifialby considers Bhakti poetry as a variant of the philosophy of Sufism, which was extraordinarily widespread in the East. That is why, just as some of our sholars strive to comprehend the Bhakti poetry, V. M. Zhirmunsky read the Sufi poetry, noticing "a great deal of ideological and artistic similarity between the western European love sonnets of the period (the Renaissance period—E. Ch.) and the classical gazals of the Sufi school".[21]

In N. A. Vishnevskaya's article Bhakti poetry is examined in the traditional religio-mystical scheme and is represented as something indivisible and uniform, where as in fact it is many-sided and contradictory. Democratic sentiments, motives of protest and humanistic tendencies exist in it, in a complex conflict with conservative feudal Brahmanist elements. From our point of view, those democratic and humanistic tendencies reveal the typological resemblance between Bhakti poetry and the "popular content" in the Renaissance literature in Europe, about which A. N. Veselovsky has written.[22]

Similarly G. S. Pomerants' statement quoted by N. A. Vishnevskaya that "the objective prerequisites for the appearance of the new period, in the present case the period of Renaisance, the commodity-money relations, the sources of manufactories and the antifeudal democratic movements in ideology could not achieve any appreciable results, because they proved to be helpless before the century-old Eastern—in this case Indian traditions, especially of the caste-ridden society and of the religious ideology. In fact, these two institutions, which regulated the life of Indian society from top to bottom, and, what is more important, deprived it of human individuality, proved to be decisive in suppressing at source everything that newly appeared in India in the middle ages, is hardly indisputable. Thus Indian culture is seen in a single stream, while like any other culture it is not uniform for it develops in a class society reflecting the interests of antagonistic classes.

As in the European culture of the Renaissance, in Indian culture also two conflicting trends clashed with each other i.e. popular trends paved the ways for a permanent struggle with the conservative tendencies, reflecting the ideology of the reactionary forces of the society.

In these popular-democractic trends are precisely revealed the renaissance characteristics of the middle ages, the enlightening tendencies of the 19th century, and they paved the way for the realistic school of the 20th century. Indeed, in India castes and religious ideology exist even today, but for all that Indian culture has certainly developed, and it continues to develop, imbuing itself with the spirit of innovation and with ideas of humanism.

In the "History of India in the middle ages", while talking of the progress in the socio-economical and cultural life in India in the middle ages, the renaissance character of the particular stage of Indian culture is denied, but at the same time it is noted that "the economical and social significance of these phenomena in India is different from that of the period of European Renaissance, because in India they are connected with the development and flourishing of

the feudal system, and not, as in Europe, with the fall of feudalism and with the beginning of a change towards new social relations. That is why, we did not think it possible to use the term Renaissance in relation to India".[24]

Irrespective of whether the students of the culture of India are supporters or opponents of the concept of Renaissance in India, they all unanimously admit that during 15th—17th centuries Indian culture enters into a period of renovations and development. Naturally every development or blossoming of culture in the history of the people cannot be considered as a renaissance. N. I. Conrad was right when he said, that "people are often ready to give the name Renaissance to any period of significant development of culture—most often of art and literature, especially if this development is in some degree connected with the consideration of antiquity".[25]

First and foremost it is essential to define what the essence of the development of Indian culture in 15th—17th centuries was, to bring to light all that is new in the general history of Indian culture and is brought about by the culture peculiar to this development, and only then to put the question : "can these new occurrences be compared with the Renaissance in Europe ?" Similar historico-typological comparisons must include not only the sphere of literature, but also the whole complex of socio-economic, religio-philosophical and cultural phenomena.

Socio-Historical Prerequisities

All those who do not consider it possible to relate the development of Indian culture in the 15th—17th centuries with the Renaissance, give as their main argument the fact that his period in India is characterised, not by the decline of feudalism and the birth of capitalistic relations, main prerequisites, according to them, for the emergence of a renaissance culture, but by the flourishing of feudal system, which rules out the possibility of the development of such a culture. However, Renaissance, during the predominance of an ultimately feudal system, was characteristic not only of the countries of the East but also of a number of countries of the West, for example of Spain. That is why, S. D. Skazkin justifiably notes that is not necessary to relate this emergence with the decaying of feudal relations and the development of capitalist relations.[26]

The "History of India in the Middle Ages" says, that during the 15th—17th centuries, significant changes took place in the development of feudalism in India, which were similar to processes considered as prerequisities for the Renaissance in general, and in particular in China, Armenia and Iran. K. Z. Ashrafyan writes that it was from the mid-15th to the beginning of the 16th centuries that "a noticeable growth of productive forces .. (and) a significant development of the feudal city" was observed in India. ".. usurious trading capital penetrated the sphere of feudal exploitation".[27] A. I. Levkovsky notes, that "during 16th centuries the development of feudalism in India noticeably quickened. The territorial and social division of labour became more profound, cities came up, production of individual saleable articles increased, the sphere of activity in the trade—money relations widened. During the reign of Badshah Akbar, in a number of provinces the rent and taxes had begun to be collected in the form of money".[28]

A. A. Chicherov thinks, that "during 16th—17th centuries, certain processes actively developed within the feudal economy of India, and led, specially

towards the end of this period, to a considerable improvement in the structure of industrial relations, but without changing them radically".[29]

The 16th--17th centaries in the history of India, are also characterized by a revival in foreign trade. India had strong trade relations with many countries of the Far East, South-East Asia, Africa, the Near and Middle East, and through them with the countries of Europe. A. I. Chicherov notes, that "The development of internal, and especially foreign trade had a very great effect on the growth of cities and on transformation of sparsely populated areas (settlements, villages etc.) into big centres of trade and handicrafts. .. From the 15th to the beginning of the 16th century, foreign trade gave a strong impetus to the development of Cambay, which was transformed into a great trading centre of Asia .. The urban population of feudal India, a significant part of which was composed of artisans, traders, military class, and people working for wages, reached high proportions. Thus in the middle of the 15th century the capital of the state of Vijayanagar had 90 thousand inhabitants, the city was surrounded by walls 60 miles long.. In the beginning of the 18th century, the capital of Bengal, Dacca (including its suburbs) had a populations of 2 million inhabitants".[30]

Bhakti as the Ideology of the Urban Strata

In the middle ages, the working people in India, forming the main part of the urban population, and crushed by feudal and caste oppression, started becoming a more active force of society, openly expressing dissatisfaction with their conditions of existence without any right. "History of India in the Middle Ages", mentions "urban anti-feudal movements" which were movements of the urban artisans for social and spiritual emancipation.[31]

"With all the peoples of India, the sectarian movements of the period under consideration, started as movements of urban artisans. Literature, mainly poetry, born as a result of this movement had more or less clearly expressed anti-feudal character. It expressed protest against the caste system and the rites of official Hinduism and Islam". notes A. M. Dyakov.[32]

The leading and directing role in these movements was played by preachers, thinkers and poets—sons of the lower strata of the society, mainly of artisans. Out of these took shape a humanitarian intelligentsia, new in its type and a bearer of the ideas of free thought, which addressed itself to the uneducated masses of people. (Kabir was a weaver, Nanak—a trader, Namdev—a potter and Dadu Dayal a cotton spinner).

F. Engels wrote in his article "Ludevig Feuerbach and the end of German classical philosophy"—"The sentiments of the masses were fed exclusively on religious food : that is why in order to stir up a violent movement, it was essential to present the personal interests of the masses in a religious garb". These mass movements, which had a religious-reformative character, stimulated the search for something new in the social and cultural life of India. The Bhakti movement, notwithstanding its contradictoriness fully promoted a reapprochement between different religions, sects and doctrines which divided the people and hindered the socio-economic and cultural development of the country. A close connection between Bhakti poetry and religious ideology does not prevent the existence of motives of Renaissance in it. It is well-known that even in the West many representatives of the Renaissance were religious workers. In

the Bhakti period, religion becomes the field of struggle between the democratic and the reactionary forces of the society. The former aspired to free themselves from the spiritual dictatorship of reactionary Brahmins and opposed orthodox Hinduism; the latter firmly defended the traditional Brahmin ideology. Within the limits of religion itself a qualitatively new world out look was born, which underlined the independent value of an individual and put man in the forefront. Neither high birth nor caste, nor a pious life in the past, nor religious rites, nor theological knowledge, which could be acquired only by the Brahmins, nor moving away from the world towards asceticism, can help the fate of a person. The only true path to happiness and to a knowledge of God is Bhakti—selfless love and devotion to God. Similar phenomena were also characteristic of Muslim pantheistic Sufi free thinking, especially from the 16th Century.

"In the history of India there was a period when the people were stirred by a huge wave", wrote Rabindranath Tagore, "The realisation of the fact that God belongs not only to the priests, and that special incantations are not necessary to invoke Him, that every Chandal can win His favour by his simple devotion, unexpectedly, like an enlightenment delivered the peoples of India from caste humiliations".[34]

There are different points of view about the origin of Bhakti movement The Indian scholar, H. P. Dwivedi, quotes the British indologist D. A. Grierson, that "of all the religious movements, which took place in India at some time or other the Bhakti movement was the most powerful and widespread and that its influence is felt even upto the present time",[35] emphasising the "unexpectedness and spontaneity of its appearance (like a blinding lightning), it suddenly cut through the thick gloom of all the old religious beliefs and shone above India—and not one Hindu can say from where it came, and what was the cause of so spontaneous and appearance",[36] and feels, that the Bhakti movement in its origin is indebted to the influence of the ideas of Christianity, which in his words, Ramanuja (one of the first propagators of ideas of Bhakti died 1137 A. D.) adopted from the Christian missionaries, who had settled in Tamilnad in 2nd—3rd centuries A. D. According to H. P. Dwivedi such a point of view is mistaken and there is no sense in dwelling on it at length.[37] However, to us it seems that this question deserves a special study.[38]

There is one more interpretation of Bhakti poetry and the reason of its spread in India. "The sudden popularity (of Bhakti) at this period can be explained only by the feeling of escapism, which dominated the Hindu mind a result of the conquest of its sacred places by Islam", writes K. M. Panikkar.[39] In our opinion, such a point of view besides contradicting the general historical facts leads to a distortion of the true causes of the appearance, the character and the ideological trends of the religio-reformatory movement of Bhakti, bound up with the vital interest of the masses, which play a progressive role in the development of social ideas and culture in India in the middle ages.

In the beginning the religio-philosophical ideas of Bhakti, which were democratic in their content were born in South India, and had started as a reaction against the feudal-Brahmin oppression and against religious dogmas, which legitimized and illuminated the dependent position of the working people. The pioneers of the movement turned to Vishnu, the just God. He in the words of A. P. Barannikov, "is recognised as the highest deity in front of whom there is no one low or high, in front of whom the representatives of all castes are equal".[40]

Ramanuja was one of the first to make an attempt to bring the ideas of Bhakti in line with the canons of the orthodox Brahmin religion. He argued against the views of Shankar (8th—9th cent.) which were quite widespread in India at that time.

Shankar reformed the Brahmanism, by forming the system of Advaita Vedanta. Shankar's views promoted the consolidation of society on a caste foundation. He considered that the highest knowledge may be achieved only by cognition of the Brahmin. For this Shankar preached withdrawal from the world, from normal activity, called upon them to desist from a search of one's own 'I', which according to him was final for every person. The stiffening of the tenor of life founded on the teachings of orthodox Brahmanism became and obstacle to social development, legitimized the previleged position of the Brahmin clique and the servile position of the popular masses, who came in the movement, declared their rights and demanded social justice and spiritual emancipation.

Just as the pioneer of renaissance thoughts in China, Han'-Yui (8th—9th cents.) opposed the concept of nirvana in Buddhism and the concept of inactivity in Taoism, since in the words of N. I. Conrad", both these concepts in his eyes, diverted people from the main thing ; from life, activity and from a real service to a real society",[41] Ramanuja opposed the concept of illusiveness of the world and withdrawal from life, with the aim of realisation of spiritual needs. He also opposed the prevalent conditions and the priviledges of Brah min caste in the cognition of deity. Han'-Yui set off Buddhism and Taoism against Confucianism, and Ramanuja set off Brahmanism against Neo-Vishnuism (Vishnuism of the middl ages), which in the words of A. P. Barrannikov "unlike the Vishnuism which had developed in ancient India, acquires a democratic character".[42]

"Ramanuja denies the illusiveness of ceeation and the created world"[43] —note S. Chatterjee and D. Datta. He rejected the doctrine of so-called Mayavad, which emphasized that the world is an illusion and is only a reflection of Brahma, Ramanuja considered the animate and inanimate nature as His manifestations (Leela) which by a similar interpretation, became something really existing.

An important place in the religio-philosophical views of Ramanuja was occupied by the avatars (incarnations) of Lord Vishnu in human forms of Ram and Krishna, who can be apprehended by means of dedication to God, which was within the reach of everyone and not by means of knowledge accessible only to the selected". Having proclaimed the right of every man to Bhakti, Ramanuja facilitated the spreading amongst the popular masses of such a social and cultural revolution which in due course of time became a powerful and reliable means of rallying the Indians and of the spreading of the spirit of unity of India"[44] —writes Rajnath Sharma. H. P. Dwivedi emphasizes that "Ramanuja brought Vedanta closer to the beliefs and ordinary notions of the popular masses, to whom the ideas of a God in human form and of equality of all men were closer and comprehensible".[45]

From the 15th century the ideas of Bhakti start spreading in the northern parts of India. Religious preacher Ramanand (1400—1470) though not openly opposing the existence of castes, included amongst his pupils representatives of all castes, even untouchables. His sermons promoted the development of

Bhakti poetry connected with Ram. The great poet Kabir (1440—1513), a pupil of Ramanand, preached more radical ideas : he rejected Hindu doctrine of rebirth, repudiated idolworship and strived for unity between Hindus and Mussalmans.

The most outstanding follower of Kabir was Guru Nanak (1469—1539) one of the main writers of the 'Primordial Book' (Adi-Grantha), the founder of the Sikh community, rejecting castes and idolworship and repudiating the existence of a personified God. In our opinion I. D. Serebryakov rightly considers his teachings as a compromise "between Hinduism, Islam and diverse sectarian teachings—one of the phenomena of Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis".[46]

In northern India, the teachings of Ramanuja in their Krishnite variant were continued by Vallabhacharya (1478—1530). He preached the idea of consistent monism ("Shuddhadvaitvad") and glorified Krishna, his youth, the beauty of nature and called others to the delights of earthly human love (Bhakti-Madhurya etc). The supporters of this trend of Bhakti considered the love of Krishna and Radha to be the highest ideal expression of the interrelation between the divine substance and the human soul. Brajeshwar Varma writes, "In the Sankhya philosophy, which had a considerable influence on the Vishnuite Bhakti, the love of Krishna and Radha are looked upon as the unity of man and nature".[47] The community formed by Vallabhacharya was founded on the principle of democracy, in it no differences were observed between the rich and poor, between castes and class, and there existed and atmosphere of simple mutual relations between all its members.

In Bengal, Chaitanya (Choitonno, 1486—1533) was a propagator of a similar trend of Bhakti, whose teachings as I. A. Tovstikh puts it, "clearly expressed the leading middle age ideals and notions of humanism, freedom and equality of people".[48] V. A. Novikova writes, "In the conditions of feudal Bengal Chaitanya was the first to raise his voice for the emancipation of man, while trying to pull him away from the influence of the priests, who emphasised that man was a helpless creature in the hands of the providence, and has no power to be his own master".[49]

All these preachers of the ideas of Bhakti, while promoting the democratization of religion, prepared the ground for the spread in India of poetry, humanistic in character and imbued with the spirit of Renaissance. H. P. Dwivedi stresses that "Hindi Literature from 15th century develops into a vital school, turns to lofty ideals, starting from this period it enters a new phase of development.. A genuine popular literature gathers strength".[50]

The protest against the religious dogmas of Hinduism, as a principle of thought, is expressed in the poetry connected with the Bhakti movement, in the form of theological mysticism, which assumed an intercourse with God without the help of the clergy and emphasised that cognition of God is achieved by a spontaneous contact with Him by means of feelings and not reason. S. K. Banerjee, the Bengali literary critic writes, "It is often been rightly remarked of Chandidas that his love lyrics have bridged the gulf between the human and the divide.. in Chaitanya we found an individual where humanity and divinity were harmoniously blended or we may prefer to say that divinity revealed itself in and through man".[51]

Directed against the Brahmin scholasticism and the idol-worshipping, heretical mysticism of Bhakti played a definite role in the ideological opposition of the rising popular masses. F. Engels wrote in his work "The Peasant War

in Germany" -- "Revolutionary opposition to feudalism takes place through the middle ages. It takes place in accordance with the condition of the times either in the form of mysticism or in the form of an armed revolt".[52] We can speak of the mysticism of Bhakti, forming a spontaneous conection between man and God, as of the mysticism of the renaissance type. Like rationalism, the mysticism of the renaissance type is in the words of N. I. Conrad, a path "towards the liberation of man from the power of dogmas, towards an outlet in the sphere of a complete spiritual--and it means creative freedom, and this was the very thing, essential for a forward movement of human thoughts, social life, culture and science".[53]

While not touching upon the question as to whether the renaissance tendencies were characteristic of Bhakti poetry, Rabindra Math Tagore, referring to the characteristics of the work of Kabir and Dadu Dayal draws attention to the fact that it is imbued with the ideas of liberation of human conscience from grip of the dogmas, and this according to him is the essential condition for the forward movement of human thought, social life, culture and art, and that it rings with an appeal for unity, to overcome religious bigotry and caste prejudices. People who proclaimed unity were like birds who wake up long before dawn, and sing in the skies over the still sleeping world, welcoming the approaching day. The liberation of the spirit, which they proclaimed, is described in the 'Upanishadas' as vratva, i.e. spirit which is not tied up with any social or religious bonds.

Kabir was one of such heralds : he stood in the front ranks of those who opened a new path for India. Another such herald was Dadu. He was also able to find sure paths in the jungle of conventionality. He said :

"My friend, the path of unity attracts me
forward,
This common path does not recognize any
castes or sects".

In another place :

"Hindus or Mussalmans ;
All have the same soul".

..They appealed for humanism and humanness, and struggled for liberating the people from pride and arrogance, born out of a feeling of dissociation. This way towards unity was a genuine Indian way, and in our days Ram Mohan Roy (one of the founders of nationalistic ideology and of the movement for enlightenment in the first half of 19th cent.--E. Ch.) opened it again".[54] From this quotation of Tagore, it follows that he could connect with each other the renaissance type of humanism and enlightening humanism [55]

Creation of epos in living popular languages was characteristic of Bhakti period. Like the European Renaissance, which was founded on an attempt to re understand the antiquity, Bhakti poets spread their ideas, striving to find support in antiquity, and turned to those ancient Indian cultural traditions, which were popular amongst the people. But they did not simply restore old traditions, but tried to re understand them in relation to the new historical conditions. A new philosophical interpretation of the ideas and motives of the day in a form accessible to the masses, in living colloquial languages and dialects, and under the guise of a return to antiquity : these are the important special features of all the Bhakti literature. "Revival of the spiritual traditions of the

past could never fit the situation of the time better",[56] —asserts the Indian literary critic Savitri Sinha. It is possible to agree with this, bearing in mind that the "revival of antiquity", just like in the European renaissance, lies in fact in the attempt to re-understand. A number of works, permeated with ideas of Bhakti, and reflecting the characteristics of the culture of the different parts of the country, were written in those days in different parts of India in colloquial languages and dialects. The heroes of these works as a rule, notes V. K. Lamshukov "acquired a significance as historical personalities, real living figures whom the period needed, but whom unfortunately, it had not yet found".[57] During this period were written "Ramayana" by the Hindi poet Tulsidas (1532—1624), which in the words of the Indian Literary critic Prakashchandra Gupta "is known as the most popular book of the people of Hindi speaking area, since it calls upon the Indian people to struggle for freedom from the heavy adversities, oppression and exploitatin" ; [58] "Ramayana" of Eknath (1548—1599) and the "Mahabharata" by Mukteshwar (Maharashtra, 17th cent.), in which the heroes of the ancient Indian epics fight with the real enemies of the Maharashtrian people ; the Bengali 'Ramayana' by Kirtibasha Ojha (15th—16th cent) in which "the ancient legend of Rama and his dedicated wife Sita received a new interpretation",[59] the Assamese 'Mahabharata, of Rama Saraswati (16th cent.) where "the stress is laid on the struggle between good and evil, oppression of good by evil, the ultimate victory of the good over evil and the victory of the truth",[60] and so on.

Representation of a Hero, born for great deeds, was peculiar to the European Renaissance, and it is possible to compare it with the idolized heroic concept of man, which is peculiar to Bhakti poetry.

Not restricting themselves to a proclamation of blessings only for the man, the Bhakti poets strove for the idea of self-sacrifice of individualism, and to combine it with an urge for general good. In their poetry, man, mostly in the persons of Ram and Krishan as incarnations of the God Vishnu, acts in the capacity of a fighter for his own happiness, and against tyranny, smashing the forces of evil and giving rise to justice on earth. In Bhakti poetry appeared features, which were characteristic to social utopia and which were a challenge to the feudal-Brahmanistic ideology, social injustice and violence, which ruled in the India of the middle ages. Strivings for happinesss and development of human being and his dreams of justice were expressed in Bhakti poetry through religious ideology and through the characters of Ram and Krishna. Ram, Krishna and other heroes bring forth a reign of general development and put forward the ideals of equal rights, social harmony and the unity of the peoples. The authors of these works (as also in Europe) were subjected to persecution. They were persecuted by the then ruling Mussalman elite and by the reactinary Hindu Brahmin community. Eknath, for example, was brought to trial in front of the highest Brahmin court at Benaras for his Ramayana. A. P. Barannikov writes about the oppressions Tulsidas was subjected to for his Ramayana, and so on.

The Bhakti movement and the literature connected with it can be considered as a crisis of the scholastic world outlook of the middle ages. An interest in the earthly human being and his inner world, and an urge to open up Nature and the human character in his interrelations with his surroundings—these were the most important stimuli for the development of Bhakti poetry.

The humanistic character of Bhakti poetry appears, first and foremost, in the interpretation of the traditional avatars. In his sense the following asse

tion by K. M. Panikkar is of interest : "According to the new universally accepted doctrine of the Hindus,whenever the state of human society requires to be regenerated, divinely inspired men are born for the purpose. They are avataras but only part avataras, not the Godhead himself in human form, but only men with such part of divine powers as is required for the purpose in hand".[61] First and foremost, avataras are poculiar only to the school of Sagun Bhakti. H. P. Dwivedi writes, "For Bhakti a spontaneous communication with the diety was essential, and for this communication avataras became an essential means".[62] Avataras and Bhakti poetry are full of practical matters. The true sanctity and the truth of life is not in the temples or the mosques, in the Vedantas or in the Koran, but in the human being, in his life on this earth, in his selflessness, kindness, honour, and fairness. Kabir says :—

"If you spend all your life praying and following rites,
You will not achieve freedom, you long for, after death,
It's a lie, that after you die you will merge with God,
Then why should you spend your life in prayers, searching
the road to death" [63]

God exists in the soul of every human being, so service to a simple man is equivalent to loowing to God. Kabir exclaims :

"Oh Man ! What are you doing in the temple?
Ram is not there, he lives in your heart ! [64]

Braginsky quotes the following lines from Jalaluddin Rumi :

"Oh those, who search for God,—God that's you !
There is no need to search for him ;
It's you ! It's you !" [65]

These lines are in tune with Kabir's verse. Gods born in human guise, frequently turn into earthly people, in the Bhakti poetry, and become ideal heroes of their type. Savitri Sinha writes, "Ideals of many kind were set up through the creation of the character of Ram, the Man of Righteous Conduct, whereas in the character of Krishna, the incarnation of Amorous Playfulness joy and sport were portrayed".[66] In this very manifestation of human images, also appear the realistic tendencies in Bhakti poetry, which can be compared with the realism of Renaissance in Europe.[67]

Turning to the traditional epic subjects, the Bhakti poets imbued them with vitally true and humanitarian content. The Indian literary critic Rangeya Raghav writes—"In 'Valmiki Ramayana', there is not a word of childhood amusements of Rama and his brothers —Main attention is given to the praise of Rama's heroic feats—This blank in the description of Rama's life, was, to some extent filled by Tulsidas".[68] Although Tulsidas also considered the surrounding reality as only 'Maya', the episodes connected with Rama's birth and the years of his childhood appear from his Ramayana, to be real.

The idea of boundless love and selfless devotion to God was embodied in Surdas's poetry in the form of terrestrial mutual relations between people. Especially close to simple people was Lord Krishna, who answered all the ideals of an Indian farmed—gay, brave, resourceful, singing joyous songs. This image, which was traditional in the ancient and middle-age Indian literature, becomes complete with Surdas, with new humanitarian content. The Indian literary critic R. S. Sharma Munshi, justifiably writes that "Surdas's Krishna

is not an opressor. He is a friend, of the poor and is easily approachable. He does not believe in casta or Creed".[69]

At times Surdas seems to forget that Krishna is a God. He stands in front of us as a normal village youngster ; a humorous, mischievous, merry jester. "Surdas's Krishan is a loving person, who is able to love and to value love".[70] Indian scholars note that for Surdas the ideas of Bhakti were only a distinctive form of expressing the leading views of his time. Munshi continues—"Surdas was a graet humanitarian. The blind poet spread the message of love and amity among human beings".[71]

Notwithstanding the fact that the Bhakti poets treat Radha's love for Krishna allegorically, showing her as an ideal aspiration of human soul to unite with God, they achieve a great deal of expressiveness and truthfulness in their descriptions of amorous feelings. The influence of folklore was reflected in the love lyrics of the Bhakti poets. The popular song-poetic traditions of India had a noticeable influence on the works of the poetess Mirabai (1499—1547). "Mira's bridal devotion to her Lord Krishna is pure, graceful and noble".[72] —writes R. V. Trivedi. With all the plentitude and passion she exposes the world of feelings and emotional experiences of a loving woman.

"His beautiful appearance has cast a spelt on me,
He has filled all of my being,
Can I now live without my lover.
Without him, who is the rootlet of the
tree of my life".[73]

Love in Mirabai's poetry does not consume the soul, but brings happiness and inspiration. Savitri Sinha notes, "The beauty of her poetry is like the healthy and affectionate beauty of the naive, fancy free and self-willed village girl".[74]

For the sake of her love towards Krishna, Radha is prepared to sacrifice all that is dear to her in life.

"The creator made him, so the girls would perish,
Caste, family—everything is lost,
The whole world will know about me,
I was of a high birth, and now I have
brought disgrace to my parents and father-in-law"[75]

In these verses of the Bengali poet Handash, there is not even a hint of some supernatural, divine love. Only simple human relations are expressed in them.

V. A. Novikova notes : "In many poems Krishna is shown as a young village cowherd, and Radha as the woman, who is prepared to sacrifice everything for the sake of her love and personal happiness. In the conditions of feudal India such poetry elevated the human being, opened up a rich world of feelings and desires, strengthened the belief in its creative forces and its right to be the ruler of its own destiny. As J. S. Ghosh points out, Vishnuite odes can be considered to be exceptionally romantic poetry (without any allegorical sense). In this case, they represent, an absolutely new phenomenon in the literature of the middle ages, when human love towards another human being, finds a special value, like all other things connected with a human being".[76] In these assertions of V. A. Novikova about the Bengali poetry of Bhakti those

of its characteristics are in essence underlined, which in our opinion can be calles renaissance characteristics.

For Kabir, a person who does not recognise the joy and suffering of love, has not understood life.

"You may drink the pure and holy water
Living your life in holy Benares.
You are working in vain, says Kabir
Only living love for God can save you".[77]

Praising the beauty of the feelings of love and the joy of meeting the loved one, the humanist poet throws a challenge at the morals of the middle ages, and opposes the church hypocrisy and bigotry.

"You are cursed, if you have not seen
Love, have not walked along its path :
You are like a guest, who has entered a dark
Deserted and cold house".[78]

Mystical love for God, which with Kabir is transformed into real human feelings, cleans a person and drives him to raise, higher ideals.

"At the meeting the two who are in love"[79]
"The poison of self-love turns into wonderful amrit".[80]

In this world only love is immortal. In comparison to it, even God appears to be not so mighty and omnipotent.

"Real Happiness lies only in love
all the rest is just fuss and anxiety.
Mortal are you. For exerybody is mortal :
Mortal are demons and mortal are gods".[81]

It is well known that the ideas of the earthly embodiment of divine love, which appear in the Bhakti poetry, also served as the main subject matter of the Sufi love poetry, which, along with the Bhakti poetry, was widespread in India during the 15th—17th centuries and was genetically and typologically related to it.[82] V. M. Zhirmunsky noticed "a great deal of ide ological and artistic resemblance between the western European love sonnets of this period and the classical gazals of the Sufi school". This resemblance, in his words "is seen in high idealism of the feelings of love, sublimating the ardent sensuality in an image of spiritualized love, in the rigidity of the traditional and unalterable metrical forms, and in a slight banality of poetical symbolism increasing all the more with the epigoni of the classical style of the renaissance type lyrics".[83]

PART II

Folk Tendency and Its Appearance

Folk character has been the most important feature of the Bhakti poetry, just as in the best poetical works of the European Renaissance. A. M. Dyakov remarks : "For the majority of the people in India, this literature, developing with the movement and which had so far been popular amongst masses, now became truly folk literature".[1] Living human figures like Krishna, Radha, Rama, Sita and other beroes of Bhakti are well known to common people of India and have been their ideals. That is why they have become and inalienable part of the spiritual life of the people. Leading humanistic ideas, expressed by Surdas, Kabir, Nanak, Chandidas and other poets connected with the Bhakti movement, are really popular and near to foklore. The themes, the characters and the subject matter have been taken from the very life of the common people. H. P. Dwivedi asserts, that "the popularity of Surdas is, to a very large extent, explained by his lively organic connection with the foklore. It is impossible not to notice in 'Sursagar' the development of some ancient musico-poetical tradition which has not come down to us".[2]

In Bhakti poetry, true-to-life descriptions of human feelings and lives are accompanied by a realistic portrayal of nature. V. P. Trivedi writes, "Narsingha loves nature and the background of nature that he delineates in the description of the lila of Krishna conveys the impression of reality".[3]

With the help of the descriptions of nature the inner world and the outer aspects of man are unfolded. In the landscape, philosophical and love poetry of Bhakti, the human beauty harmonically merges with the beauty of nature.

In the poetry of Bengali poet Gobindo Das, Krishna seems to see the whole of surrounding world in the face of the lovestruck Radha.

"Where appear the agitated eyebrows
Waves of Jamuna do play
Where falls her tremulous gaze
Blue Lotuses do appear
Where I see her tender smile
Blossom Jasmine and lilies".[4]

V. A. Novikova notes—"For the first time in Bengali literature, a world of spiritual moods, full of happy, thrilling and strong feelings, a world of flowers, trees and diverse phenomena of nature, came to play such an important role in poetical characterization".[5]

The whole system of literary descriptive means of the lyric poetry of Bhakti is organically connected with Indian nature and serves till now as a sorurce of development of Indian poetry. Surdas and other Bhakti poets raised many questions of vital interest to the people, and opposed caste oppression, social inexuality and Hindu-Muslim enmity. Jagannath Sharma writes "In Surdas's poetry, one hears the voice not only of the poet but of the whole people. In it are expressed the painful and sad feelings of the truly popular poet, who had thought deeply about the bitter fate of his compatriots".[6]

Kabir's poetry is distinguished by a special social sharpness :

"The rich roll in luxury, and waste their riches,
They enjoy life, and shower gold on the dancers.
But the poor, let him but try and ask for a piece of bread,
And he will be driven away, as if his misfortune
Is no concern of theirs".[7]

As in the European Renaissance, protest against religious orthodoxy, which highlighted the social relations of the time, was characteristic of the Bhakti movement. This protest, a revolt against the religious dogmatism, answered at that time the vital interests of the popular masses, who were completely dependent on the Hindu and Muslim priesthood. Thus, Kabir asserts that a man cannot achieve true happiness and freedom by worshiping soulless idols.

"To bow before an idol, made of stone,
considering it to be the creator,
Is like wallowing in darkness.
Man bows before a stone, which never
answers his prayers
Blinded by self-interest, he kills his honour
By stretching out before a stone".

Kabir maliciously laughs at the religious hypocrites, relentlessly tears off from them the mask of hypocrisy and deceipt. In his satirical poem the poet draws a brilliant picture of a brahmin glitton :

"They wear a dhoti, three and a half yards in length,
Their legs are entangeled in three folds
On their necks hang beads,
In their hands they hold mugs.
But is it possible to name these scoundrels,

The servants and ascettics of Rama ?
These are the rogues of Benares.
I don't consider him an ascetic,
Who devours food by the basket..."

The folk-mindedness of the Bhakti poets is seen also in the fact that having established a direct connection between man and God, as if by equating the terrestrial and divine, they, to some extent emphasize the equality between man and woman, founded on that mutual love which is the strongest and the most idolizable feeling.

Throughout Bhakti poetry, the ideas of a kind and just God answer the interests of the people. God in Bhakti poetry, not only personifies the abstract qualities like iindness and justice, but he is also a friend and helpmeet of man, and takes part along with him, in his labours. That is why work acquires a divine meaning, "I found God in a weaver's workshop", admits the poet in one of his poems.

"For you the readers of Puran, the meaning
of world is dark,
But to me, the weaver, it is clear
like a stretched out cloth".[8]

Contradictory Tendencies

In Bhakti poetry, features characteristic of the new culture, combine with the elements, typical of the medieval scholastic world outlook. The European Renaissance also, in its ideological aesthetic content was not uniform. I. S. Braginsky notes "A clash between two contradictory tendencies—popular and aristocratic—was characteristic of Renaissance. Thomas Moore has brilliantly expressed the general interests in his social utopia, and Francesco Guicciardini wrote : "People—it is a mad monster, full of doubts and mistakes. But indeed they are the prominent representatives of the Renaissance".[9] Similarly Bhakti poetry is a genuine popular development, connected with the democratic aspirations of the Bhakti movement, in the form of popular protests against the feudal—Brahmanistic ideology, an ideology which was moving towards the ancient Indian tradition related to the orthodox religio-philosophical systems. The peculiar combination of the progressive and conservative elements, objectively reflected the unstable and very contradictory life of Indian society of the middle ages.

At times the clash between the opposing tendencies appears in the works of the same poet. An interlacing of the popular and the feudal—Brahmanistic elements is especially noticeable in the works of Tulsidas (1532—1624). Fully remaining in the frame work of the orthodox Hindu philosophical system, Tulsidas preached the illusiveness of world, which was a reflection of the divine substance, and defended the caste system and the privileges of the Brahmans. At the same time he rejects the "path of knowledge", which was traditional for the higher castes, and was considered to be closed for the lower castes, and preached the cognition of God by the path of Bhakti, which was accessible to everyone irrespective of their castes. As a great poet of his times, Tulsidas could not help reflecting the reality and the truth of life. That is why frequently Tulsidas the poet disproves Tulsidas the philosopher. From this fact come the contradictory judgements about Tulsidas's place in Indian literature. Rangeya Raghav, the well-known Indian man of leters, notes "On the one hand Tulsidas was an ardent supporter of the caste order. On the other hand, under the influence of the Bhakti movement, liberal views are found in his poetry..... his "Ramcharitmanas" is a work of historical significance. It gave rise to the strength and energy to fight oppression".[10]

Even in the works of Kabir, which, according to us, are closer in type to the European renaissance literature, the democratic and humanistic tendencies combine with the elements of scholasticism of the middle-ages. This is noticed by the progressive Indian scholar Prakash Chandra Gupta, who wrote : "On the one hand the works of Bhakti poet are full of love for man—on the other hand, they are characterized by other-worldly, mystical and metaphysical tendencies. In Kabir's poetry also, along with the humanistic tone, notives of uncontrollable desperation can be heard, which was natural for the trame of mind of his times".[11]

Just as the Renaissance, in the words of F. Engels, "Called for giants and produced giants"[12], the Bhakti movement also brought to light such distinguished poets as Kabir, Surdas, Mirabai, Tulsidas, Namdev, Eknath, Tukaram, Chandidas, Nanak and many others, whose works till today are considered examples of nationalistic literature.

Bhakti movement, which witnessed the awakening of early national feelings of the Indian masses, stimulated the development of literature in popular

languages and dialects of India. In the development and formation of modern languages like Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Assamese and others, great services were rendered by the Bhakti poets, who came from the lower castes. They gave up classical Sanskrit, the traditional literary language of the middle ages and created wonderful works in living spoken languages. It is well known, that F. Engels considered the appearance of classical literature in popular languages as a great achievemnet of the Renaissance. He wrote : "In Italy, France and Germany a new literature arose, the first modern literature ; shortly afterwards came the classical epochs of English and Spanish literature".[13]

Ramvilas Sharma emphasizes that, "Bhakti poetry disproves the fabrications of the English imperialists, that only the British conquest in our country created the conditions for cultural renaissance. In fact Bhakti poetry serves to a much larger extent as the democratic foundation... of a new really folk culture".[14] H. P. Dwivedi writes, "Hindi literature of the period confirms the idea that only great aims can give birth to great literature".[15]

Hindu-Muslim Cultural Synthesis

From 7th century A. D. elements of Muslim culture start infiltrating into India. In the 12th century north-western and northern regions of the country were conquered by feudal-martial aristocracy acting under the banner of Islam. By and by its rule spread all over the country. In the Delhi Sultanate (13th-15th cents.), the Moghul Empire (16th-19th cents.), the state of Bahmanids and others, the state religion, as is known, was Islam. In the struggle for power, the interests of Hindu and Muslim feudal aristocracy clashed, but the interests of the working classes, both Hindu and Muslim, who opposed social injustice and feudal yoke, coincided. As the famous Indian scholar Tara Chand writes : "The Muslims who came into India made it their home. They lived surrounded by Hindu people and a state of perennial hostility with them was impossible. Mutual intercourse led to mutual understanding. Thus Muslims prepared to find a via media whereby to live as neighbours. The effort to seek a new life led to the development of a new culture which was neither exclusively Hindu nor purely Muslim. It was indeed a Muslim-Hindu culture".[16]

Ramvilas Sharma notes that, "The Muslim Sufis and poets adopted the local languages and culture, facilitated the elimination of Hindu-Muslim differences, and the strengthening in India of the foundations of a national culture and a national self-consciousness".[17] Muslim ideology, Persian culture and Persian language, in the words of A. M. Dyakov, "had a great influence on the structure of govenment, culture and languages of the Indian people... Significant sections of the populatin, especially artisans and farmers voluntarily, and also at times compulsorily accepted Islam... along with the sectarian movements of the Hindus appeared sectarian movements of the Muslims, which in their social essence did not differ from those of the Hindus".[18]

The Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis promoted the development of renaissance traditions in Indian culture, particularly in the Bhakti poetry. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru notes that before the conditions for the synthesis appeared" ...in North India cultural decay was evident. Fixed beliefs and a rigid social structure prevented social effort and advance".[19] As a result of the interactions of the two cultures "There were many changes in India and new impulses brought freshness and life to art and architecture and other cultural patterns.

And yet all this was the result of two old-world patterns coming into contact, both of which had lost their initial vitality and creative vigour and were set in rigid frames".[20] B. N. Luniya writes that "Consequently the spirit of the synthesis and mutual harmony led to the growth of a new synthesised culture ....which was neither purely Hindu nor entirely Muslim, but a happy fusion of the best eleements of the two".[21]

While referring to the fact, that the synthesis of Hindu-Muslim culture found its expression in literature, architecture, sculpture, music, painting, dances, and in life in social customs and norms of behaviour, rituals and festivals etc., Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru says, that of no less an importance was the influence of Eastern-Iranian culture, infiltrating from Central Asia, on the revival of Indian culture in the middle ages. He writes : "Babur....had come from the North, where the Timurial Renaissance was flourishing in his homelands in Central Asia, and the influence of the art and culture of Iran was strong".[22]

Indian historians, Muzumdar, Roy Chaudhuri and Datta, feel that the Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis had already started in the pre-Mughul India, and that it called for a renovation of complete Indian culture, and promoted its imbition with the new spirit of innovation and Renaissance. "As in literature and religion, so in art and architecture, the Mughul period was not entirely an age of innovation and renaissance, but of a continuation and culmination of processes that had their beginning in the later Turko-Afghan period. In fact the art and architecture of the period after 1526, as also of the preceding period, represent a happy mingling of Muslim and Hindu art traditions and elements".[23]

As regards the synthetic character of the Mughul culture as a qualitatively new culture, the English indologist A. L. Basham writes, "The Mughul period was one of great splendour and has left its mark on India in the form of many lovely buildings, wherein Islamic and Hindu motifs often blended in a perfect unity".[24]

As a result of the Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis a distinctive architectural style came into being which was distinguished by the lightness and elegance of forms, severity and beauty of design and by the organic merger of the best examples of Hindu and Muslim architecture. The architectural structures of Indo-Mughul art of northern India in 16th—18th cents, remarkably differ from the ancient Hindu temples, built in fanciful style, massive and with plentiful blind decorations. Thus, in the architecture of of Fatehpur-Sikri (City of Victory) built during the reign of the Mughul emperor Akbar in 1569, elements of art peculiar to the European and Central Asian Renaissance are found and an urge for an amalgamation of diverse architectural schools and an urge towards new and more lively and harmonious forms is expressed, The Indian scholar B. C. Upadhyaya writes in his article "Sources of Indian culture" : "A whole change came over the field of Indian architecture when new measures and forms are given to it by the newcomers. The ancient standards and forms are largely given up and a touch of the agreeable alien shapes now enter the look of the buildings.

"And it is not true only of the regions predominantly inhabited by the Muslims, but it becomes effective even in such far flung places as Rajasthan, Mathura, Vrindawana, Kashi, Madurai and the distant Kathmandu.

"Muslims take their models from Arabia, Persia, Farghana, but the Hindu architects who shape them make them local and much of the look of the mosques, tombs and palaces becomes local".[25]

The renaissance tendencies developed in the medieval paintings also, which reflected very little of the peoples' life. They appear more graphically in the Rajput school of paintings, which is permeated with the ideas of Bhakti (1550—1750). B. N. Luniya writes "Krishna in all his varied character was the central figure of the Rajput painting..the man passion, pathos, compassion, sympathy, affection, love, mercy and other human virtues were despicted in realistic sketches by the facile brush of the Rajput painters"[26] Indian shcolars note the synthetic character of the Rajput school of painting, its living connection with the ancient Indian classical heritage and the best traditions of the Islamic art. B. N. Luniya continues,—"The ancient Hindu school of painting, a successor of the classical Ajanta frescos was not eclipsed by new schools of painting, which had appeared under the Moghuls. On the contrary, the introduction to the Persian and Moghul schools served as a strong stimulus for its revival. The process was considerably simplified, thanks to the revival of Hinduism and Bhakti culture, the dramatic content of temple processions, colourful religious rituals and a deep interest in mythology".[27]

The urge in the Indian paintings, as in the European ones, to free themselves from feudal oppression and religious dogmatism was accompanied by the awakening of a lively interest in Man, his inner world and the nature surrounding him. This urge led to a new understanding of the beauty of man. A vital and bright image of man, unrestrained in his feelings, in love with life and the blooming nature surrounding him, emerges from the paintings of Rajput artists. At the same time Indian artists, like the European painters of Renaissance, made use of the traditional religiomythological subjects.

The Indian art critic Dinkar Kaushik notes,—"As we go deeper in Rajput paintings, it becomes easier to breathe, we start feeling more and more the whiff of fresh air .. nature and the world of human feelings are presented in them, just as if the arthist is looking at the world through the eyes of a child, who has just started realizing his surroundings".[28] Rajput paintings are distinguished by glowing colours : fresh greenery, bright flowers and ripe fruits. And in the middle of this blossoming nature stands man—Krishna and Radha, shown in all the complex range of amorous feelings and experiences : arguments and reconciliations, separations and meetings, sorrow and happiness. "In this other world the human feelings appear to be holy, be it love, separation, bhakti and so on".[29] Dinkar Kaushik sees in the humanistic content and the innovating form of Rajput paintings, a reflection of general conformity with the development of world culture. He writes : "Before the earliest Rajput painting appeared, in the 17th century, a grandiose cultural revolution had already taken place in the whole world. The Italian artist Giotto (1275—1337—E.Ch.) flung open the doors of renaissance in the European art.. The progress of natural sciences and humanities was then reflected in the works of Italian artists Masaccio (1401—1428—E.Ch.), Raphael Santi (1483—1520—E.Ch.), Michelangelo (1475—1564—E.Ch.)., Leonardo da Vinci (1452—1519—E.Ch.).. This very tendency is also traced in the works of outstanding Japanese masters of the 13th-14th centuries, Sotansy, Koetzu, and Korin. In the Persian Court (in Herat to be exact—E. Ch.) the great painter Behzad (1440—1514—E.Ch), paved the way through his works, for the painters, who depicted the real world in a new

way".[30] The Indian scholar connects the flourishing of artistic representation in Rajput school of paintings, with this very current in the history of world culture and talks about its inclination towards an ddequate reflection of the actual reality and of human being.

Bhakti poetry stimulated the development of art forms, popular with masses. A song-and-dance drama with Vaishnavite themes—Ramlila and Krishnalila—representing mass carnivals, was born and became widespread. Farces (Swangs in North India, burrakatha in Andhra, and so on), and satirical interludes in mystery drama are distinguished by sharp social expose's. Topical, heroic popular performances acquires wide popularity (Tamasha in Maharashtra). During this period a transformation of traditional art of dancing takes place in India, new dances on themes from 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharat' are born.[31]

By the end of 16th century appeared Kathakali, a folk dance, which has won wide popularity in modern India. Indian scholars connect its origin with the migration and modification of the ancient Indian dance of worship Krishnattam.

Significant changes took place in Indian musical culture also. Hindu and Muslim motives harmonically combine in the songs and music of the Sufis. Some Muslim rulers, encouraged in their courts, the development of all types and forms of musical art. B. S. Upadhyaya notes—"Indian, Persian, Arabian styles of music merged together in the court of Alauddin Khilji (13th—14th cent.) His darbar acquired great fame as a collection of rare talents, Hindu and Muslim singers and musicians, like Changa, Fatukh, Nazar Khan, Bahroz, Amir Khusro, Dehliya and other remarkable masters".[32]

A further merging of Hindu and Muslim musical cultures took place a few centuries later in the court of Emperor Akbar. B. S. Upadhyaya asserts, that "Tansen brought it to perfection.. There music was always the unifying source, which removed the differences between the two religious communities".[33] B. N. Luniya writes, that "Some Muslim critics consider that the synthesis of Iranian and Indian music led to the appearance of a new musical style, which excels both the components in its refinement and fascination".[33]

The peculiar manifestation of the renaissance tendencies in medieval Indian culture is also noticeable in narrative prose, which impressed the oral folk works—for example in the storie and anecdotes about the wise Birbal, emperor Akbar's adviser and minister. If Bhakti poetry may be considered as a lyric-romantic trend in medieval Indian literature with its typically glorified heroes like Ram and Krishna, then "Birbaliana", to some extent, may be considered as a satirical trend and a social utopica of the middle class city dwellers. The individual man and personality are represented in it. Ideas of social justice are expressed in literature more directly without any religious covering. The character of wise and humorous Birbal, appearing in medieval India, is a personification of popular optimism and an original form of protest against oppression and injustice. All literature connected with the name of Birbal is full of sharp social satire, directed against oppressor and exploiter, the hypocritic Brahmins and the ignorant Muslim Mullahs. It is imbued with the centuries old dream of the popular masses, about a righteous ruler—pathon and defender of the people, the ideal kingdom in which a common man can live easily and happily.

In the course of the renaissance tendencies, apparently it is possible also to consider the development in India during 16th—17th centuries, the genre of

biographies of preachers and Bhakti poets. It is known, that the lives of saints in Russia, are sometimes related to pre-Renaissance literature. D. S. Likhachev writes—"Literature recedes more and more from its original unity and infantile misshapenness. It breaks up according to the newly forming nationalities, breaks up accoreing to themes and genres, comes more and more in stronger contacts with the local realities. More and more new events, demand their own elucidation. A need for sermons and publicistic (journalistic) essays, dedicated to the vital problems of local reality, appears".[35] "Such diverse creative individualities like Feofan Grek and Andrei Rublev, the expressive style of the Russian chronographer Epifanii Premudry, Pakhomii Logofet and the emotional "Novel about Peter and Fevroniya Muromskys", belong in equal measure to the pre-Renaissance period in Russia."[36]

Turning to the life of a common man was an important step in the formation of world literature and in filling it with humanistic content. Aiming at creating images of ideal people, authors of biographies, often moved away from the realities of their lives, writing conditional biographies of the representatives of anti-feudal religio-reformative movement, in which they sometimes participated as the avtars' of Lord Vishnu.

Along with this, in these typical lives of saints, one often comes across, in a more expressive form than in Buddhist jatakas, true sketches of peoples' lives. They contain a great deal of historico-ethnological material about medieval India and impose the moral and religious principles of medieval Vaishnavism.

In the "Garland of the Bhakts" (Bhaktamala) poet Nabhadas (16th century), while narrating about the life of Vaishnavite community, and about the outstanding poet Surdas, draws true pictures of Indian reality. The annalist poet, while describing the wonders, which can be performed by the Bhakts, narrates some historical facts, particularly the meeting between Surdas and emperor Akbar.[37] "It is in this sense, that these biographies already included the element of world literature",[38] notes V. A. Novikova. In the lives of Indian saints, experiences full of artistic literature and folklore are accumulated, and they incorpoarate information about diverse sciences.

In his better known biography of Chaitanya, "The nector of Chaitanya's activities" (Chaitannacharitamrit), the Bengali poet Krishnadas Kaviraj (1517—1615) made use of, in the words of V. A. Novikova, scientific cult, and poetical literature in Bengali and Sanskrit" as also "the oral stories and evidences of Chaitanya's contemporaries, his pupils and followers".[39] In the works of this genre, man takes part as an independent personality, in all its complex mutual relations with his surroundings and environment. While noting the close bond between Chaitanya's biography and reality, I. A. Tovstikh writes, that the figure of this "great defender of common people" presents itself as a "very human and lively figure".[40]

This is how, for example, Nittyananda, a Bhakti preacher and one of Chaitanya's pupils, is depicted in the works of Krishnadas :

"Dark complexioned, brilliant and wide-shouldered,
A brave athlete, whom Kamdev met,
Slender legs and arms, tender eyes,
A scrrf on the shoulders, snd a silk bandage
on the things"[41]..

The Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis appeared in southern parts of India also. Many Indian scholars in Urdu literature, notice a great development of Urdu literature in Deccan in the 14th—17th centuries. Ram Babu Saksena[42], Ehtisham Hussain[43], Muhammad Sadiq[44] and especially Mahmuddin Kadir Zor, connect, the flourishing of cultural life in the Deccan first and foremost in the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, with the Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis, in the books specially dedicated to Deccan, "Sketches of Hyderabad literature"[45] and "History of Deccan Literature".[46] This synthesis, appearing as a result of Muslim penetrations from the North to the southern parts of India, was reflected in the religio-philosophical and cultural spheres of life. The widely spread ideas of the Bhakti movement prepared the ground for the ideas of Sufism, brought with them by the Muslim invaders, and for its adaptation of local grounds. Here, n the Deccan, many norms of literature were laid in Urdu, characterised by the repudiation of a blind imitation of classical Persion poetry, and by the utilization of local foklore.

The official language of the Kingdoms became not Pharsi, but Dakhani, rich with Braj vocabulary. The specific character of this language made it possible for the Deccan poets to make use of the Indian metric system along with the Persian theory of poetry, and especially the Persian aruz. The Deccan poetry in Urdu is distinguished by its diverse forms and styles. Along with the typically Persian mathnavis (by Nusrati) there are also the hymn-verse, based on the rules of Indian poetics (Ibrahim Adil-Shah). In the works of one and the same poet the Sufian 'kuliyat' of "Bustan" type get along with the indegeneons Indian cycle of "seasons" (In the works of Muhammad Kuli Kutb-Shah). Majority of the authors, all the same use traditional Persian metaphors, keeping the imagery local and Indian.

Amongst the masters of Deccan, the poets of Golkonda— Muhammad Kuli Kutb-Shah (End of 15th—16th centuries) and Ibn-Nishati (17th cent.) deserve special attention. Muhammad Kuli Kutb-Shah, like the activists of the European Renaissance, was an enlightened ruler, a poet and a patron of arts and literature. In his works, the Hindu-Muslim synthesis is conspicuous. Half Hindu by birth, he followed Akbar's policy of tolerance and encouraged the development of local culture. Muhammad Kuli Kutb-Shah gave equal attention to the Persian patterns and the Indian classics. Like the poets of the European Renaissance, he also created in verse a full-blooded, lively immage of his beloved, an Indian dancer, and later the queen Hyder-Mahal.

In the works of Ibn Nishati democratic and anti-court trends are clearly expressed. In his celebrated masnavi, "Phulban" (Flower bed), a traditionally Indo Iranian poetic subject received a concrete definition on Indian soil, i.e., a fairy fable acquired a real conflict. His works are an example of conscious synthetization of Persian and Indian picturesqueness. Nishati's poetry stood against the court "poetry of etiquettes".

In the works of other Deccan poets Tana Shah and Tabai (end of 17th cent.) a striving for understanding oneself as an author for others is nticeable, the personality principle becomes more profound, and patriotic lfeelings express themselves. Thus in the introduction to the masnavi "Bahram-o Gul" (Bahram and Gul, beginning of 18th cent.), the poet Tabai, wishes that his verse be read in every house. Breaking the traditional stock phrases of masnavi, Tabai dedicates the tenth canto of the poem to his home town, Hyderabad. The

of wise and wily Birbal" (Moscow, 1968), the renaissance tendencies have been discussed. A short section "Motives of renaissance in the poetry of Bhakti", has been included in our essay "Hindi literature" (Moscow, 1968). Indian literature of the middle ages, as well as the literature of renaissance type, has been dealt with by I. S. Rabinovich in his book "Forty centuries of Indian literature" (Moscow, 1970). E. V. Paevskaya also sticks to a similar point of view in the text-book "Literature of the East in the Middle Ages". Moscow, 1970.

[18] The following works may be invluded in these types : V. A. Novikova, An essay on history of Bengali literature in the Xth-XVIIth cents. Leningrad, 1965 ; N. V. Gurov and Z. N. Petrunicheva, Telugu literature. Moscow, 1967 ; "Treatise on Surdas" by G. V. Tsvetkov and on Kabir by N. B. Gafurova and a few other theses.

[19] N. A. Vishnevskaya : Some typological characteristics and national features of the Indian literature of the modern age—"Problems of enlightenment in the world literature". Moscow, 1970 ; p. 283.

[20] Ibid ; p. 285.

[21] Collected works "Literature of Renaissance" : Moscow, 1967 ; p. 469.

[22] A. N. Veselovsky, Collected works, Vol. : III. St. Peterburg 1968 ; p. 124.

[23] N. A. Vishnevskaya : Op. cit, p. 286.

[24] "Istoria Indii v srednie veka"—Moscow, 1968 ; p. 651.

[25] N. I. Conrad : Op. cit ; p. 8.

[26] "Sovetskaya istoricheskaya entsiklopediya" (Soviet historical encyclopedia). Vol. II ; p. 604.

[27] "Istoria Indii v sredniya veka" (History of India in the middle ages) pp. 288-289.

[28] A. I. Levkovsky : "Osobennosti razvitiya kapitalizma v Indii" (Special features of the development of capitalism in India) Moscow, 1963 ; pp. 8-9.

[29] A. I. Chicherov : "Ekonomicheskoe razvitie Indii pered angliskim zavoevaniem" (Economic development of India before the English conquest) Moscow, 1955 ; p. 255.

[30] Ibid ; pp. 152-153, 156.

[31] "Istoria Indii. . ."

[32] A. M. Dyakov : Op. cit : p. 8.

[33] K. Marx and F. Engels, Collected works. Vol. 21 ; p. 314.

[34] Rabindranath Tagore—Vol. 8. Calcutta, 1953, p. 411.

[35] Quotation from H. P. Dwivedi, 'Hindi Literature', Delhi, 1952, p. 88.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] For D. A. Griersons views on the origin of Bhakti and its connection with Christianity, see ib

[39] K. M. Panikkar, Op. cit, p. 180.

[40] Tulsi Das, Ramayana : Moscow, 1948, p. 12.

[41] N. I. Conrad : Op. cit, p. 16.

[42] Tulsi Das, Op. cit. p. 12.

[43] S. Chatterjee and D. Datta "Drevnyaya indiiskaya filosofiya" (Ancient Indian philosophy), Moscow, 1954, p. 385.

[44] Rajnath Sharma : Op. cit. p. 119.

[45] H. P. Dwivedi : Op. cit, p. 102.

[46] I. Serebryakov : "Penjabskaya Literatura". (Punjabi Lieterature), Moscow, 1963, 1963, pp. 41-42.

[47] "Literary Dictionary of Hindi", Part - II, 1963, p. 463.

[48] I. A. Tovstikh"" "Bengalskaya Literatura" (Bengali Literature) Moscow, 1965, p. 36.

[49] V. A. Novikova : Op. cit, p. 85.

[50] H. P. Dwivedi ; Op. cit, p. 102.

[51] "Istoria indiiskikh literatur" (History of Indian Literature) pp. 424, 435.

[52] K. Marx and F. Engels : Collected Works. Vol. 7, p. 361.

[53] N. I. Conrad : Op. cit, p. 29.

[54] R. Tagore : Collected Works, Volume II, Moscow, 1965, pp. 308-309. Also see E. N. Komarov : "Ram Mohan Ray—Prosvetitel i provozvestnik natsionalnogo dvizheniya v Indii" (Ram Mohan Roy—the enlightener and herald of the national movement in India), in the book "Obshestvenno-politicheskaya i filosofskaya mysl v Indii" (Socio-political and philosophical thoughts in India), Moscow, 1962.

[55] Compare with N. A. Vishnevskaya's : "Thus in India during the 19th century many ideas of European Renaissance and enlightenment merged together in ideology as well as in literature" : Op. cit, p. 283.

[56] "Istoria indiiskikh literature", p. 687.

[57] V. K. Lamshukov : "Marathskaya Literatura" (Marathi Literature) ; Moscow, 1970 ; p. 54.

[58] E. P. Chelishev : "Literatura Hindi" (Hindi Literature) ; p. 64.

[59] I. A. Tovstikh ; Op. cit ; p. 42.

[60] B. K. Barua ; "Assamskaya Literatura" (Assamese Literature) : Moscow, 1968 ; p. 34.

[61] K. M. Panikkar ; Op. cit above ; p. 137.

[62] H. P. Dwivedi ; Op. cit above ; p. 91.

[63] Kabir ; Op. cit ; p. 163.

[64] Ibid ; p. 80.

[65] I. Braginsky : "Dvenadtsat miniatyur" (Twelve miniatures) ; Moscow, 1966 ; p. 191.

[66] "Iscoria indiiskikh literatur" ; p. 697.

[67] See "Literatura epokhy Vozrojdeniya" (Renaissance Literature), Moscow ; 1967 ; pp. 86-136.

[68] Rangeya Raghav : "Tulsidas ka Kathashilp" (Literary art of Tulsidas), Delhi, 1956. p. 22.

[69] Contemporary Indian Literature, 1962, N 2, p. 19.

[70] D. Sharma : "Sur Sahitya Darpan" (Mirror of Surdas's works) ; p. 85.

[71] Contemporary Indian Literature, p. 19.

[72] "Istoria indiiskikh Literatur" ; p. 372.

[73] Translated (in Russian) by the author of the article.

[74] "Istoria indiiskikh Literatur" ; p. 707.

[75] V. A. Novikova : Op. cit, p. 98.

[76] Ibid ; p. 101.

[77] Kabir : Op. cit. p. 64.

[78] Ibid ; p. 56.

[79] Here the drink of immortality.

[80] Kabir : Op. cit. p. 143.

[81] Ibid ; p. 67.

[82] See in detail : G. Yu. Aliev : "Persoyazichnaya Literature Indii" (Persian Literature of India) ; Moscow. 1968 ; pp. 82 and after.

[83] V. M. Zhirmunsky : "Alisher Navoi i problema Renessansa v Literaturakh Vostoka". (Alisher Navoi and the question of Renaissance in the literatures of the East) ; Moscows, 1967 ; p. 470.

PART II

[1] A. M. Dyakov : "Istoricheskoe znacheniye sektantskich techenii XV-XVII vekov v Indii" (Historical significance of the sectarian movements of XV-XVII cents. in India) —From "Dokladi sovetskoi delegatsii na XXIII Mejhdunarodnom Kongresse vosto-kovedov" (The reports of Soviet delegation at the XXIIIrd International Congress of orientalists) : Moscow, 1956 ; p. 8.

[2] Hazari Prasad Dwivedi : "Hindi Sahitya" (Hindi literature) : Delhi, 1952 ; p. 50.

[3] "Istoria indiiskikh literatur" (A history of Indian Literatures) : Moscow, 1964 ; p. 371.

[4] V. A. Novikova : "Ocherk istorii bengalskoi literaturi X-XVIIIvv" (An outhine of the history of Bengali literature of X-XVIII cents) : Leningrad 1965 ; p. 100.

[5] Ibid : p. 101.

[6] Jagannath Sharma : "Sur Sahitya Darpan" (A mirror of Surdas' literature) : Delhi, 1964 ; p. 48.

[7] Here and further, where no specific notes exist, translations have been done by the author of the article.

[8] Kabir : Lyric, Translated by S. Lipkin ; Moscow, 1965 ; p. 7.

[9] I. S. Braginsky : "Vozmozhen li Renessans na Vostoke ?" (Is Renaissance possible in the Orient ?) in the book "Teoreticheskie problemy vostochnykh literatur" (Theoretical problems of Orient al literatures) : Moscow, 1969 ; p. 411.

[10] Rangeya Reghav : "Tulsidas ka Kathashilp" (Tulsidas' literary art) : Delhi, 1956 ; p. XX.

[11] Contemporary Indian Literature, 1962, N 3, pp. 14-25.

[12] K. Marx and F. Engels : Collected works ; Vol. 20, p. 346.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ramvilas Sharma : "Swadhinta aur rastriya sahitya" (Independence and national literature, Benares, 1956 ; p. 96).

[15] H. P. Dwivedi : 'Hindi literature' ; p. 110.

[16] Tara Chand : "Influence of Islam on Indian culture".

[17] Ramvilas Sharma : "Bhasha aur Samaj" ("Language and Society"), Delhi, 1961. p. 326.

[18] A. M. Dyakov : "Natsionalny vopros v sovremennoi Indii" (The national question in modern India) : Moscow, 1963 ; p. 24.

[19] J. Nehru : "Otkritiye Indii" (Discovery of India) Moscow, 1955 ; p. 271. (Quoted here from "Discovery of India ; Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966 ; p. 272-trans.).

[20] Ibid ; p. 272.

[21] B. N. Luniya : "Istoria indiiskoi kultury s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei" (History of Indian culture from ancient times till our days) ; Moscow, 1960 ; p. 380.

[22] J. Nehru : Work mentioned above ; p. 271.

[23] Mazumdar, Roychaudhury, Datta : "An advanced History of India" ; London, 1943, p. 577.

[24] A. L. Basham : "The wonder that was India" ; London, 1964, p. 482.

[25] B. S. Upadhyaya : "Feeders of Indian culture". (New age).

[26] B. N. Luniya : "History of Indian culture...." ; p. 417.

[27] Ibid ; p. 416.

[28] Dinkar Kaushik : "Kal aur Kala" (Times and art). Delhi, 1957 ; p. 79.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid ; p. 80.

[31] See S. I. Potabenko in "Teatr, tanets, muzika" (Theatre, dance, music) in the book "Istoriya Indii v sredniye veka" (History of India in the middle ages) ; Moscow, 1968, p. 644.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] B. N. Luniya : "History of Indian culture...." ; p. 418.

[35] "Sbornik proizvedenii literatury drevnei Rusi" (Collection of ancient Russian Literary works) ; Moscow, 1969 ; p. 16.

[36] D. S. Likhachev : "Russkoe predvozrozhdeniye v istorii mirovoi kultury" (Russian pre-renaissance (period) in world history) : Being prepared for publication in the collected work dedicated to the 80th birth anniversary of Academican N. I. Conrad.

[37] "Hindi Sahitya Kosh" (Literary dictionary of Hindi) Part II. Kashi, 1963 ; pp. 372-373.

[38] V. A. Novikova : work mentioned above ; pp. 88-89.

[39] Ibid ; p. 92.

[40] I. A. Tovstikh : "Bengalskaya Literatura" (Bengali Literature) : Moscow, 1965, pp. 37-38.

[41] V. A. Novikova : work mentioned above, p. 93.

[42] R. B. Saksena : A History of Urdu Literature, Allahabad, 1940.

[43] See. S. E. Husein : "Istoria Literatury Urdu" (History of Urdu Literature) ; Moscow, 1961.

[44] M. Sadiq : A History of Urdu Literature, London, 1963.

[45] Sayid Muhiuddin Quadri Zor, Dastane Haidrabad, Hyderabad ; 1951.

[46] Sayid Muhiuddin Quadri Zor, Dakhani Adab-ki Tarikh, Delhi, 1958.

[47] See I. M. Reisner on the question of moving away of the East towards the beginning of new times—"Voprosy istorii" (Problems of History), 1951, No. 6. Also his "Popular movements in India in 17th-18th cents". Moscow 1961 ; A. I. Chicherov "Economic development of India before British conquests", Moscow, 1965.

[48] Satyakam Varma : "Hindi Sahityanushodhan" (Researches in Hindi Literature) ; Delhi, 1962, p. 239.

[49] Haridatta Sharma : "Lenin in the works of Indians". Delhi, 1970, p. 49.

[50] "Literature of the Renaissance". Introduction, p. 4.

A DEFENCE FOR THE THEORY OF RASA *Or* A PLEA FOR THE EMOTIVE BASIS OF LITERATURE

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Notwithstanding its supreme importance in Indian Poetics, the theory of Rasa had to face opposition from different intellectual quarters, and right from the beginning a number of charges were levelled against it. The major arguments of its opponents can be marshalled as below :—

1. Rasa has been defined as a transcendential experience akin to the realization of the Supreme Self. This mystical concept agreed with the temper of the medieval ages, but it cannot be accepted in the modern world. When psychology can attempt a definition of our subtlest experiences, it is difficult to believe that the aesthetic experience remains still inexplicable.

2. The theory of Rasa lays all its emphasis on emotion, with the result that it fails to do proper justice to the other forms of art which appeal to our imagination or elevate our thoughts or afford subtle intellectual pleasure through ingenious juxtaposition of words. In the past, several rival schools of Poetics had sprung up, showing their preference either for figures of speech or for diction, for suggestive art or for oblique expression—and in the present times also many critics have repeated the old allegations in a different language. Their main argument is that poetry has several functions to perform : to create a beautiful image in the mind of the reader or to provide aesthetic pleasure through ingenuities of the word and the phrase is, by no means, less important than to evoke emotive responses. In the present world, our psychic life has become extremely complicated : reason and intellect play a much greater part today than in the past and as such our experiences are intricately intellectualized. The theery of Rasa has no provision for a proper evaluation of these new forms of aesthetic experience.

3. According to this theory, the number of sentiments and feelings has been rigidly defined—with the result that the range of literature has been unnaturally circumscribed. The human psyche is like an unfathomable ocean surging with countless waves and ripples, and it is irrational to reduce them to nine or eleven basic sentiments or thirty three accessory feeling. There are innumerable forms of subtle and impetuous phychic actions faithfully depicted in the literatures of all ages which cannot be contained within these definitions. In the literature of the world—nay even in our own modern literature, there may be hundreds and thousands of works of arts wherein it is difficult to determine the basic sentiment or define the Rasa : for example who can determine the basic sentiment in *Hamlet* or in *Wasteland* or even in *Godan* of Prem Chand or *Kuruksetra* of Dinkar ? The main reason for this failure is that the theory of Rasa which is based on the primeval instincts of man is by itself inadequate to take cognizance of all the actions and reactions of the human psyche today, when the advancing sciences of the conscious and the unconscious mind have opened infinite regions of mystery.

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4. For proper delineation of Rasa, a full situation is essential—which is generally difficult to create in shorter forms of poetic art. There are, however, any number of beautiful stanzas or sparkling phrases in literature containing not a full picture, but just a flavour or an extremely fine shade of an experience. How can the consummation of Rasa be possible in such cases ?

5. The relations between the various Rasas have been defined so rigidy that a free play of emotions is seriously hampered.

Our psychic activities, on the other hand, are full of contradictions which really lend power and richness to experience. The same thing could be said about a poem or a poet's creative genius. The *Mahabharata* in Indian literature and Shakespeare's dramas in the West are full of contradictions of all kinds: as a matter of fact, their glory lies in these flagrant contradictions. How can these phenomena fit into the pattern of the Rasa theory ? They are likely to be condemned as serious violations of the principles of art.

6. Another limitation of this theory is that it lays undue emphasis on the subjective nature of artistic experience. The aesthetic emotion, according to its exponents, (cf. beauty lies in the mind of the beholder), resides in the consciousness of the reader; as such the artistic emotion of the poet and the emotional content of the poem have no place in their scheme—with the result that whenever on account of certain prejudices or preoccupations, the aesthetic sensibility of the reader fails him, even a good poem does not receive due applause. Moreover, it is not quite necessary that the basic sentiment of the reader should correspond in every case to the basic sentiment depicted in the poem : sometimes there is complete discordance between the two. For example, let us take a situation in a drama in which the lover and the beloved come accross a cannibal devouring human flesh in a hideous forest. The sight will rouse the feeling of indignation in the lover if he is a brave man, fear in the mind of the fair damsel and horror in the spectator under the circumstances, in the absence of the necessary concordance between the emotional response of the spectator and the sentiment depicted in the drama, there shall be no possibility of a proper consummation of the aesthetic enjoyment, in spite of the fact that it may be otherwise a powerful work of art. This is one of the glaring anomalies in the theora of Rasa.[1]

7. The thesis that Rasa is manifested has also been confronted by the theories of communication and artistic creation. The artistic or aesthetic experience according to them, is communicated and it is not a simple basic emotion but a pattern of experiences[2] made-up of several emotional, imaginative and intellectual responses, and cannot be *evoked* as much. Thus, the theory which defines Rasa as a manifestation of primeval emotions of the respondent does not present a correct and complete picture of the aesthetic experience.

8. This theory, which is deeply rooted in idealism, postulates permanent values of art. But in contemporary life when all permanent values or ideals are disintegrated and change has been accepted as the law of nature, we can only be sure of the immediate moment—and poetry or art today can attempt to express only the 'immediate experience which is in process', everything else being dead stuff. The theory of Rasa, on the contrary, is built on a permanent emotional basis and takes little cognizance of the immediate experience which cannot be converted into aesthetic experience unless it is *universalized.* As such, it is irrelevant to contemporary art.

9. It lays undue stress on the pleasure-principle, with the result that other healthier values of life—such as elevation of character, discipline of the senses or organization of impulses, cultivation of social consciousness and zest for action etc. become subsidiary in literary evaluation. This can and has done positive harm to life and literature both.

These are the major allegations made by the critics of the past and the present and it is necessary to examine their validity before we can attempt a proper assessment of the theory of Rasa.

The first and the earliest target is the transcendental nature of Rasa which has been compared by its exponents to the realization of the Supreme Self.[3] This is supposed to be the most vulnerable point in the theory and has been exposed to all kinds of semi-serious criticism by modern writers. This objection, however, can be met without difficulty. The comparison of Rasa with the realization of the Supreme Self only implies that it is an extremely refined or sublimated experience—free from selfish involvements, and as such it is superior to the ordinary sensuous or emotional experiences. The Advaita school of Philosophy defines all kinds of joy in terms of spiritual happiness because joy is an attribute of the Spirit and not a function of the mind or senses. Being an extremely refined and sublimated form of experience, the aesthetic enjoyment is different from sensuous enjoyment and is akin to spiritual bless. This is all that is meant by the much abused phrase. If you don't believe in the existence of Soul or Spirit, you can use the word 'consciousness' instead and define Rasa as a composed state of consciousness. Actually, the phrase, as such, is a technical jargon of a particular school of thought and should be understood in its historical context. If the concept of the Supreme Self—the Brahman of the Atman—is not acceptable to the modern reader, we should re-interpret the phrase in terms of modern criticism. Personally to me also, the metaphysical definition of Rasa does not quite appeal—not because I am intellectually or intuitively convinced of the non-existence of the Supreme self but because its concept is very much hypothetical, whereas Rasa or aesthetic enjoyment is a positive experience. Therefore, the technical expressions in this context or in the context of any branch of traditional knowledge are to be interpreted rationally. The concepts of the basic elements of life are not stationary—they grow with life, and only in this sense they can be considered universal and permanent. The tragedy has been that those who have studied Indian Science of Poetry and Art systematically have accepted all its concepts in their conventional forms and others who have hardly made any serious effort in this direction are vocal in decrying them on the basis of mere heresies.

The second objection has been well answered by the leaders of Indian Poetics by defining the intimate relations of the various elements of Poetic Art such as *Dhwani* and *Alankara* etc. with Rasa. *Dhwani* or Suggestion is primarily based on imagination—its supremacy means really the supremacy of the imaginative element in art, and Alankara or the 'figure of speech' is more or less synonymous with 'poetic image'. Of these, 'Dhwani' is an essential medium of Rasa which can only be suggested and never expressed and 'Alankara' or the figure of speech also is equally important in so far as the theory of Rasa, though primarily based on emotional experience, attaches sufficient importance to a beautiful expression. Similarly the intellectual element also has its place: in high-class poetry, depth of meaning is as important as richness of emotion. Thus, the imaginative and intellectual elements are not neglected in the theory

of Rasa—the condition, however, is that they should form a part of emotional experience. A concept or an idea becomes valuable if the poet infuses feeling into it, otherwise it is not relevant to art. Beauty is that essential quality or cumulative effect of poetry which appeals to our sensibility and what appeals to our sensibility must have an emotive basis directly or indirectly. Thus, in a broader sense, Rasa and Beauty are identical concepts.

The objection relating to the number of Rasas is based on insufficient knowledge of the subject, because the number is a very minor aspect of the theory. It is true that most of the theorists have accepted a definite number of basic sentiments and accessory feelings, but the subject has been very controversial all through and alterations have been made till the end. Then, from time to time, serious thinkers have been raising their voice against the defined numbers. They have maintained that the number of Rasas and the sentiments cannot be defined : every feeling, nay, even a psycho-physical reaction can develop into a Rasa. The inclusion of all kinds of emotional responses or patterns of experiences in the system of Rasa makes it further clear that its exponents do not seriously believe in defining the numbers. In very discipline, general rules have got to be framed by inductive and deductive methods, and for that it becomes necessary to divide and classify, to use labels, to demarcate—as also to count numbers. No serious writer on the subject has taken these figures as final : whenever this question has come up, he has declared without reservation that the divisions are only indicative and not decisive. Against this background, all the criticism about 'defined numbers' and 'rigid conventions' becomes infructuous—and the question as to what is the basic sentiment or Rasa in *Hamlet* or *Godan* becomes redundant, although for a conventional theorist it shall not be at all difficult to determine the primary Rasa in *Hamlet* or even in *Wasteland* or nearer home, in *Godan* or *Sekhara*—(it is so easy to do this on the basis of the cumulative effect of each one of these works). Yet, that is not the solution of the problem. The very question as to what is the primary Rasa in *Hamlet* betrays a conventional approach and can be answered accordingly. But there the question and the answer, both, are insignificant. The real significance of the theory consists not in determining the underlying sentiment, but in establishing that the aesthetic appeal and consequently the artistic merit of this great drama is based essentially on the richness of its emotive content, or to borrow a phrase from I. A. Richards, on the 'valuable experience' acquired by its enlightened readers.

This explanation contains an answer to the next allegation—namely that Rasa requires a complete situation for its expression, with the result that the beauty of a single phrase or sometimes just one pregnant word finds no place in its scheme. It is, however, nowhere laid down that the whole paraphernalia of the subject, object, external manifestations and ancilliary feeling etc. is necessary for the consummation of Rasa—even the effective delineation of one transient feeling, nay of a mere gesture, as in many a stray couplet of the Hindi poet Bihari (17th century A.D.) is enough to evoke a complete emotive response. A portrayal of all the components is not necessary—those which are not presented by the poet are supplied by the enlightened reader's imagination. The nature and form of the subject, object, manifestation etc. have been discussed in detail, because without their existence, evident or latent, it is impossible even to conceive of an emotion theoretically. The existence of an emotion without a plausible cause and concrete expressions is not acceptable to the psychologist as well. Some modern critics in Marathi have discovered a finer shade of experience—

not an emotion, but a 'flavour' or 'fragrance' of and emotion. The theory of Rasa, however, is still more catholic—according to this theory permanent attribute of Rasa is the 'Guna'—which in essence indicates a mere change in the quality or condition of the mind, and as such even an expression which does not communicate any positive emotive reaction but just 'touches the heart', can by its own magic, steal in and find a place within the orbit or Rasa.

I shall try to make my point more clear by an illustration,

The Golden fish

"As we admire its beautiful form,
The fish is parting behind the glass.
Here is a yearning for beauty
(and there behind the glass)
Is the yearning for life".

This is a rough translation of a piece of new poetry by Ajneya in Hindi. What is the secret of its appeal ? Fine image ? Yes : the image created in the mind of the reader by these few lines is sparkling indeed. But is that all ? Is the creation of this miniature pen-picture the final achievement of the artist ? Does not the delicate strain of human sympathy which is woven into the texture of this image imperceptibly touch our heart ? The image is, no doubt, an artistic achievement by itself, but the ultimate appeal lies in this strain of human sympathy—which is the essence of Rasa.

Another objection refers to the mutual relations between the various Rasas. The theory, it is alleged, lays down rather too definitely how the various sentiments agree or disagree with one another—with the result that the whole process becomes so simple and straight that there is hardly any scope for the complex patterns of conflicting emotions. This allegation also, we submit humbly, is based on insufficient knowledge. No doubt, the conflicts between the sentiments have been defined in detail, but the ways and means of reconciling them have also been indicated side by side—and these ways and means are so numerous that they can comprehend almost all possible contradictions in our psychic life. Even in the context of one single Rasa, the allegation of oversimplification doesn't really hold good, because within the purview of a Rasa like the 'Sringara' a free inter-play of almost all the different and contradictory emotions has been admitted without reservation. Even in the dramas of Shakespeare which have been cited as evidences to dispute the theory of Rasa, there is hardly any situation or episode in which the conflicts of emotions cannot be resolved according to the rules laid down by our theorists. And, even if these rules do not apply, it hardly makes any difference because (*a*) this particular topic does not form an integral part of the thesis and (*b*) that the rules have been changing from time to time along with the developments in poetic practice. Actually, like the number of Rasas, this concept of the relations between various sentiments is just a by-product of the main theory, although in this case too the psychological rationale, of course, is equally sound.

The exponents of the theory, it is further alleged are so dogmatic about the subjective nature of Rasa, that the emotive content of the poem or the artistic emotion of the poet are utterly neglected. This objection can be viewed from different angles. If Rasa means the poetic experience, as it really does,

then it is relevant only to a 'being' and to an 'object'. In the trio of the poet, the poem and the reader, the poem is an inanimate object: although it serves as a stimulus to aesthetic experience, yet by itself it does not possess the capacity for experience. The poet, on the other hand, creates Rasa or, technically, creates the art object which evokes Rasa. Thus, in practice, it is really the reader who enjoys Rasa. Philosophically also, it is difficult if not impossible to prove that the aesthetic or emotional appeal lies in the object: the Indian as well as the Western systems of Philosophy have not been able to evolve as yet a more convincing principle of the cosmos than Idealism. But I don't want to get entangled in the labyrinth of epistemological arguments—I sincerely believe in explaining the basic principles of poetry in terms of its own science without using the tools of Philosophy and Logic. However, one question still remains to be answered: what is the relation of the poem or the art-object with Rasa. The straight answer is that the poetic object is the stimulus of Rasa. The most staunch exponent of the subjective theory—Abhinavagupta himself—has attached great importance to 'expression pregnant with poetic qualities and verbal embellishments'. According to him, Rasa is, no doubt, 'the uninterrupted enjoyment of the sentiment in its liberated and sublimated form'; but the cause of this liberation or sublimation lies in the imaginative use of language or in the texture of the poem. Therefore, the poem or the work of art does not occupy an unimportant place in the theory. This just could not happen, because the mainspring of Rasa is the poem itself without which its very existence becomes hypothetical. If under certain circumstances, due to some prejudices or preoccupations, a good poem does not evoke the proper response in a reader, the fault does not lie with the poem: it simply means that the aesthetic sensibility of the reader has failed him. This much could be safely said in defence of the subjective definition of Rasa.

The objective concept also is not ruled out. The founder of the school—Bharata himself and his earliest commentators Lollata and Sankuka defined Rasa as an aesthetic situation i.e. as a presentation of some emotional condition on the stage. Soon after, leaders of the Alankara School conceived of it as an objectification of some emotional experience in effective words. Rasa, according to these earlier theorists, is an aesthetic object created by the artistic skill of the author in the context of a poem, and of the author and the producer both—in the case of a drama: here it is not the easthetic experience but the object of the aesthetic experience. Similarly, the aesthetic experience of the poet has also been treated with due respect. All the leading exponents of the Rasa theory have acknowledged the importance of the aesthetic experience of the poet in unequivocal terms: "kaverantargatam bhavam bhavayan Bhava ucyate—that which conveys the experience of the poet is termed as a Bhava or a Sentiment in technical language.[4]

Yatha bijad bhaved Vrkso Vrksat puspam
phalam yatha
Tatha mulam rasah sarve tebhyo bhava
vyavasthitah

(Natyasastra 6/7).

"Just as a tree springs from a seed and the flowers and the fruits grow from the tree, in the same way the Rasa (or the aesthetic experience) of the poet is the mainspring of the various sentiments and images in the poem."

Commenting on this verse (cited by Bharata in his work), Abhinavagupta quotes the authority of Anandavaradhana to make the position all the more clear: "This aesthetic experience of the poet is the basic Rasa. Under its effect, the spectator, in due course, realizes the existence of the subject and the object etc. in the play by the positive and the negative arguments. Thus, the poet's aesthetic experience is the seed. The poet, in the final analysis, is not different from the spectator and it is why the author of Dhwanyaaloka Sri Anandavarshanacarya has observed: If a poet is romantic (Sringarin) by nature, the entire world becomes charming, but if he is a recluse or a non-attached person, the whole poem loses its appeal. The poet's aesthetic experience serves as the seed and creates the poem which is like the tree; from that grows the flower of the histrionic art and finally the aesthetic pleasure enjoyed by the spectator—which is the fruit. Thus, for the spectator or the reader, the whole phenomenon becomes thoroughly enjoyable." (Hindi—Abhinavabharati. p. 515).

In the light of these comments, the point raised by Sri Mardhekar in this behalf is eventually quashed. In the situation referred to by him, the cannibal devouring human flesh in a hideous forest, the poet's experience is the basic sentiment which determines the reader's experience. The basic sentiment in the poem is determined by the poet's experience and not by the reactions of individual characters or of individual spectators who are not able to shed off their personal prejudices. If the poet's reaction is horror or disgust, the emotion evoked in the spectator will be horror or disgust utltimately converted into the Bibhatsa Rasa; if it is indignation, the spectator's reaction will be indignation culminating in the Raudra Rasa, or if it is terror, the spectator will experience the Bhayanaka Rasa. /This point has been dealt with in detail in my article *The process of universatization*/.

Another point of controversy is the principle of revelation or manifestation of Rasa. The thesis (as it is propounded by Abhinavagupta under the joint influence of the Idealistic School of Philosophy to which he belonged and of Dhwanyaloka by Anandavardhana on which he wrote his famous comentary) was refuted in the past by literary giants like Bhattanayaka and Mahimabhatta—nay even Bharata himself thought otherwise. The illustration of the 'soup' given by Bharata makes it clear beyons doubt that Rasa was a pattern of experiences in which the feelings of appreciation for the poetic as well the histrionic art were mixed up with the relish of the underlying sentiment. Lollata has also endorsed this view in his own way and Bhattanayaka has openly rejected the principle of manifestation. According to Bhattanayaka, the basic sentiment which is enjoyed by the spectator in the form of Rasa is not an unmixed experience of the emotion but a comples experience in which his reactions to the histrionic art and poetic beauties are mixed up: it is in essence identical with the 'aesthetic experience' definal by the Western critics. Thus the modern concept of the 'pattern' (which can only be designed and not just manifested) was not unknown to the Indian masters. All the same, the principle of manifestation cannot be rejected logically. The same modern[5] critic, I. A. Richards, who has asserted that aesthetic experience is by nature a pattern of experience, has also clearly admitted in the 'analysis of a poem' that a work of art evokes emotions during the final stages of the aesthetic experience :—

"As a result there follows a stream of reaction in which six distinct kinds of events may be distinguished.

I. The visual sensations of the printed works.
II. Images very closely associated with these sensations.
III. Images relatively free.
IV. References to, or 'thinkings of', various things.
V. Emotions.
VI. Affective-volitional attitudes".

(*Principles of Literary Criticism* (1961) p. 177)

According to this analysis, on reading a poem a chain of events takes place in the mind of the reader till almost in the final stages some emotions are evoked which finally settle down in volitional attitudes to complete the 'pattern of aesthetic experience'. So, the modern Psychological Criticism also re-affirms the thesis that a poem or a work of art evokes an emotion.

It has been established by Psychology that certain basic instincts form the substratum of the human psyche and that they manifest themselves in the form of corresponding emotions. As such, the principle of the manifestation of emotions is not a mere poetic convention. The experience or the pattern of experiences which is engendered in the mind of the reader is undoubtedly *his own* experience: the poet's experience is, of course the stimulus—but the poet's own experience is not and cannot be communicated or transferred as it is to the mined of the reader.

Here we enter almost unconsciously into the well-known controversy in respect of aesthetic emotion or Rasa: manifestation vs communication i.e. is Rasa manifested or communicated ? We have dealt with this subject in detail elsewhere; here it will suffice to say that the difference between the two is only academic. The experience, which is evoked in the mind of the reader according to the theory of manifestation, is not independent or basically different from the experience of the poet. It is inspired by and, as such, bears very close affinity to the poet's experience. Similarly, communication also does not mean that the experience of the poet is bodily transferred to the mind of the reader and the reader enjoys not his own but the poet's experience. This statement would be absurd and Richards has ruled out such a preposition in unamistakable terms. The theory of communication implies that the emotive responses evoked by a poem in the reader's mind are similar to the poet's own experience but the experience of the reader cannot, by any chance, be exactly the same as the poet's experience. Both the theories, thus, converge on the same point—viz. on 'the similarity of experience.' The theory of communication does not imply, by any chance, that the reader experiences the poet's emotion and not his own, nor is it suggested for a moment by the theory of manifestation that the reader's experience is purely his own personal experience and that it has no relation with the artistic experience communicated by the poet through his poem. It is, therefore, a difference of approach only ; one broaches the subject from the poet's point of view and the other from the reader's.

Now, only two objections remain to be answered, and one of them is that the theory of Rasa does not agree with the artistic temper of the present age. This theory is based on the so-called permanent values of life, whereas ours is an age of disintegration of values. In an age of non-belief and to a literature based on the negation of values, such a theory is hardly relevant. No doubt, the danger to human existence today is greater than it ever was, and the civilized

world passes through moments of deep anxiety quite off and on, with the result that human faith is violently shaken. The artist, who is more sensitive than the average intellectual cannot escape the depressing effects of this universal gloom and the literature, which he is creating in an entirely different mood and abnormal conditions, naturally, requires different standards of evaluation. This is how the modern intellectual argues his point. But is it a complete picture or the whole truth of life today ? If it is so, how do we explain the incessant struggle for supremacy among the nations of the world—the almost mythical glories achieved by man in the field of Science ? The growing dangers to existence can also whet our desire to live and bring the rival powers together : such indications are already there and we can reasonably entertain hopes for a brigter future for mankind. The two probabilities are there and it is upto us to choose either. If some modern thinkers insist on believing that the doomsday has come and our art and literature should necessarily reflect the eternal gloom, the theory of Rasa is not to be blamed—although this phenomenon also does not fall outside its purview. If the artist has the capacity to beautify or poeticise his gloom, the theory of Rasa will be able to take proper cognizance of his art, however detrimental it might be to the mental health of the society. But, even now, the right thinking men, whose vision is more clear and heart more sound, don't accept this view. So long as we live, we must live by faith and if we lose faith in life, art also, like everything else, loses its meaning for us.

This is the existentialist's approach to art who raises yet another objection against the theory of Rasa. An experience, he argues, can be converted into Rasa only after it has settled down in the consciousness of the creator : an immediate experience, as such, has little value in this scheme—whereas in new poetry, what is relevant is not even an immediate experience but 'an experience still in process.' This is, however, a mere fancy— just a play on wits and cannot bear the test of reason. In any field of life, by law of nature, emotional enjoyment and creative activity cannot take place side by side; and, therefore, in art also creation is not possible during the state of enjoyment or experience of an emotion. When it is so very difficult to capture in words even an experienced emotion, how can we hope to do that in the case of an emotion which is still in the process of experience ? An emotion which is still in the process of experience is only a mass of sensations. Some modern artists have tried successfully to capture these sensations and give them a form but as soon as they assume a form, the process is complete and the 'sensations' become an 'experience'. Croce has explained the principle with great conviction and clarity and defined this action as 'intuition' which is identical with art. For Croce art has two aspects : the internal and the external. Intuition is the internal activity of art on which the artist has no control. In practical terms, however, this is only 'conception' of art : what in practice we call art and discuss as art is the 'externalization' or the concrete presentation of the intuition, accomplished by the artist *deliberately* on the basis of this past experience. Thus, the very hypothesis is wrong; an emotion which is still in the process of experience cannot be expressed : what is possible is a creation or a re-creation of an emotion which has become a part of experience. The existentialist, in this way, starts on wrong premises and then quarrels with established theories of art for no fault of theirs.

The last and the most violent attack is directed against the socalled pleasure-principle involved in the theory of Rasa. The allegation is that this theory focusses all its attention on enjoyment and encourages the quest for pleasure

at the cost of other nobler pursuits in life. This is basically a moral objection and has been raised against the hedonist view of life and literature in every age in one form or the other. One direct answer is that Rasa is a synonym for Anand or the Bliss of Life as it has been defined in Indian Philosophy and Poetics stands for the consummation of human experience—for a realization of the human personality in its totality. It is not to be mixed up with pleasure or entertainment. Being based on such an all-embracing concept of Anand, the definition of Rasa includes within its orbit all kinds of human experiences—pleasant as well as unpleasant. After this exposition of the real nature of Rasa, the above allegation becomes irrelevant. And now finally, having said all this in defence, may I pose one counter-question: is not happiness the highest good—or the greatest blessing in human life? Does not the ultimate value of the good itself lie in its capacity to afford happiness? The moral values are, no doubt, the moorings of life, but the goal is happiness.

After all these allegations have been dispensed with, it does not require any further argument to establish the validity of the theory of Rasa. Freed from all scholastic conventionalities, in its comprehensive and progressive form, this can safely be accepted as a universal theory of literature—capable of interpreting and evaluating properly the creative literature of all ages and all countries, in all its varietes. Its conception is so complete that starting with human sympathy or emotion as the central and basic element, it embraces all the major values of life within its fold. It is, therefore, in harmony with all the modes and vicissitudes of life and reconciles itself with all conflicting ideals and ideologies. The main cause of its iniversality is that this theory is built on the solid foundations of humanism and accepts human personality in its totality—with its body and soul, optentialities and limitations and with all its natural instincts and impulses. Just as the philosophy of humanism, with its permanent faith in human personality, is growing with life, so also the concept of Rasa with its permanent roots in human sympathy or emotion is growing with literature. Just as the definition of humanism has modified itself from time to time to suit the new concepts of human relationships, so the theory of Rasa can and should necessarily broaden its base to comprehend the new developments in literature. Just as humanism only can comprehend the ever-growing concepts of human life, so the theory of Rasa alone can satisfy the requirements of our growing literary sensibilities. So long as we do not discover a greater truth than human existence in the context of life and a finer reality than human sensibility in the context of literature. it would be difficult to conceive of a system more authentic than the Theory of Rasa in the realm of Poetics.

NOTES

[1] cf. 'Mardhekar's views on the subject.
[2] cf. I. A. Richard's Theory of Communication.
[3] Brahmassvada-sahodara i.e. akin to the realization of Brahma.
[4] Natyasastra, Chapter VI.
[5] Richards may not be 'modern' today, but in the context of the theory of Rasa he is certainly modern.

THE ROLE OF REGIONAL LANGUAGES IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Prabhakar Machwe*

Jana Vibhrati Bahudha Vivachasam
Nana Dharmanam Yathavkasam

In the *Vedas* it is said—"People speak many languages. They belong to many religions. All live happily together".

This spirit of co-existence is what is underlined in National Integration. In this article after a brief historical background, we propose to survey the trends and forces helping national integration in various regional languages in India in modern times.

Languages bind the people, languages are bridges. Languages can be barriers and even build barricades. Languages are a help, they can become hindrances. Languages can act as interpreters of peace and goodwill. Languages may become spies and work as subversive forces of saboteurs. Languages are meant to express the innermost in the most transparent fashion. But languages may be utilized as masks and cloaks for confusing people and unleashing reactionary and dark motivations.

Unfortunately, after the redrawing of the map of India on the basis of one language one state, there have been many events which were more prompted by politics than by linguistic considerations, like the Hindi agitation in Punjab, Marathi-Gujarati tension in Bombay, the quarrel about Mysore-Maharashtra border, the anti-Hindi agitation in Tamilnadu, the petitions for recognizing Urdu as the second language in U. P. and other northern states, the Assam, Bengal skirmishes, the 'Angrezi Hatao' (Remove English) agitation, the agitation for Maithili in Mithila (Bihar) and Rajasthani in Rajasthan, the Sindhis' demand to have a separate State and so on.

To understand the genesis of these apparent outbursts of excessive language-love or the Cult of the Mother-Tongue carried to the extent of self-immolation, one should have some historical perspective. Was India ever having one and only one language as its only language ?

In north India for many years the 'cultured' language or 'Sanskrit' ruled supreme. It was the language of the Hindu Scriptures, of epics and ancient literary masterpieces. Its teaching was restricted to the so called superior castes. Women and Shudras were not permitted to hear it. And yet it was called 'God's speech' ; its script was called 'divine'. The common people used the 'natural' language or Prakrit. Buddha used one of its forms Pali for preaching his message. Mahavir used another form Ardha-Magadhi for his ethical saying.

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By twelvth century many modern Indian languages came in vogue. Sanskrit became a classical language, no more in common use.

In South India there were Dravidian languages, the oldest amongst them was Tamil. It is still continuous in the same form. It is also spoken in Ceylon and Malaya and Singapore by many people. The other three languages are Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu. Nearly 101 million speak Dravidian languages, which means every fifth person speaks a languages different from the north Indian Indo-European, Sanskrit-based languages.

As Sanskrit enjoyed, once upon a time, the position of a prestige language, so in the medieval period of our history Persian was the Court language in Delhi. So Urdu developed in Delhi as a new language with the help of indigenous languages and borrowing freely from Arabic and Persian vocabulary. It is wrong to say that it was the language of any one community.

Later, in the mid-nineteenth century with the reign of Queen Victoria, English assumed the same role of the governmental and administrative language. So we find not only leaders of modern thought like Raja Ram Mohun Roy advocating education of this language, but every nationalist leader who edited a newspaper for the propogation of his views in his own regional language, had also one paper in English : Tilak had 'Maratha' ; Lala Lajpat Rai had 'Advance' ; Gandhiji had 'Young India' and 'Harijan' ; Rajendra Prasad had 'Searchlight' ; Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had 'National Herald' to mention only a few.

With this historical background we shall not discuss 'languages' which are in the Eighth Schedule and yet do not have any 'regions' like Sanskrit, Urdu or Sindhi : or a lunguage like English which is virtually understood in all big cities but is not in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

The remaining languages which are considered as 'Regional languages' are state-wise :

Eastern Zone	Assam	—	Assamese
	Bengal	—	Bengali
	Orissa	—	Oriya
Southern Zone	Tamilnadu	—	Tamil
	Andhra	—	Telugu
	Mysore	—	Kannada
	Kerala	—	Malayalam
Western Zone	Maharashtra	—	Marathi
	Gujarat	—	Gujarati
North Zone	U. P., M. P., Rajasthan, Bihar, Hariana	—	Hindi
	Punjab	—	Panjabi
	Kashmir	—	Kashmiri

These twelve languages are 'regional' languages, according to the Constitution. The Sahitya Akademi has also given recognition to the following five languages : English, Maithili, Dogri, Manipuri and Rajasthani.

We shall now discuss the role of regional languages in National Integration Zone-wise in East, South, West and North.

Assamese

Assam has a double responsibility of dealing firstly with the tribal languages, which are many and yet not fully developed, and secondly with neighbouring languages like Bengali (with which Assamese shares major letters of its alphabet). There is a growing awareness of the necessary understanding to be developed between the people living in the hills and dwelling on the plains. So the Sahitya Akademi awarded a novel *Iyaruingam*, written by socialist Birendra Kumar Bhattacharya about the Nagaland people. The late B. K. Barua wrote a novel about the tea-garden workers. The folk songs of Assam are complied and translated by Hem Barua and Prafulladutta Goswami. Not much is written in this language about other regions or states of India. But there are plays and novels written against British Imperialism like *Piyali Phukan* or the stories on partition and plight of the minorities by Syed Abdul Malik. A History of the Congress Struggle was also awarded a Sahitya Akademi Award. An ardent nationalist poet the late Ambikagiri Raichaudhury was also honoured. Nilamani Phookan is conferred a Fellowship of the Sahitya Akademi.

Bengali

This language has been the poineer in many modern movements in literature, as Bengal was the spearhead of Renaissance. Eminent nationalists were great orators and writers too, like Vivekananda, C. R. Das, Aurobindo, Tagor, Subhash Chandra Bose, to mention only a few. There has been a tradition of communal amity running through the cultural life of Bengal—which made the struggle for freedom in Bangla Desh so meaningful—in the form of *Baul* songs by Muslim poets and patronage received by writers during the Muslim poets and patronage received by writers during the Muslim rule in Bengal. After the establishment of the British Raj, the nationalist feelings became all the more pronounced, in Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Nabin Chandra Sen or D. L. Roy. Here we find Bankim writing about Raj Singh, or Rakhal Banerji writing about Chhatrasal or Ashok, D. L. Roy writing about Durgavati or Shahjahan. This was the liberal all-embaracing tradition which made Tagore write poems on Guru Gobind Singh, Shivaji as well as Taj Mahal or Buddhist Jataka tales. In the poet-Tagore period some very significant Indian Muslim poets and writers in Bengali are

(1) Kazi Nazrul Islam
(2) Kazi Abdul Wadood
(3) Sayed Mujtaba Ali
(4) Humayun Kabir
(5) Abu Sayeed Ayyub
(6) Mujtaba Siraj

In Bangla Desh there are a score of very good poets in Bengali like Begham Sophia Kamal, Shamsur Rahman, Humayan Azad and so many others.

Bengali literature has many works on other regions and provinces too. Mahashveta Bhattacharya has written an entire novel on Maharani Lakshmibai of Jhansi. So we find Bengali writers writing about Assam, about South Indian temples (*Mandire Mandire*), Jadunath Sarkar on Shivaji, or books on Guru Nanak, on Mahatma Gandhi, on Rajasthan, or 'Bambai Pravas' on Bombay.

Many such books can be mentioned wherein the entire India is taken into account in books on arts, on history, on anthropology, economics, or biographies of various great men.

Oriya

In Oriya we do not come across many books on all the other regions of India but surely Gopabandhu Das or Nilakantha Das or such great nationalists and thinkers had the whole of India before them. Nandin Satpathy has translated for the Sahitya Akademi Gandhiji's selections. Madhusudan Rao was originally from Maharashtra but was one of the pioneers of Oriya literature. There are many very good novels about the tribal people like Kondh or Paraja. Sochi Rout Roy's poem is on the freedom-fighter Baji Raut. Gandhian as well as Marxist writers have been attracted towards the call of the Mother Earth, or 'Back to Villages'. Kalindi Charan Panigrahi's novel is called 'Men from Clay'.

Southern Languages

In the four southern languages Tamil is the oldest language with a patriotic tradition. Subramanya Bharati has been the rebel poet who also sang Gandhi-Panchakam. Yogi Shuddhanand Bharati has written an epic on Aurobindo. There have been many writers who have chosen the backdrop of other cities and other provinces (like Kerala) for their novels and short stories. There are many translations from other Indian languages ; works of Tagore, Saratchandra, Premchand, Manshi, Khandekar and many others are available in Tamil. There are Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Brahmin and non-Brahmin Hindu authors in Tamil, as well as in the other three Dravidian languages.

In Malayalam the tradition of Swati Thirunal who composed songs also in Sanskrit and Hindi, and the 'Mani-pravala' style still continues to integrate all languages, communities and castes in adopting a catholic viewpoint. There are Christian authors and novelists like Joseph Mundasseri and K. M. George, Muslim authors and novelists like Muhammad Basheer and of course many Hindu writers like T. S. Pillai, G. Sankara Kurup and S. K. Pottekatt.

Vallathol Narayan Menon, the great poet wrote a long poem on Mary Magdelene, comparing her with Kubja in the Bhagavat. There is a novel by a young Malayali author Anand which has Bombay as its locale. There are many studies and travelogues of Ceylon, South Africa, Singapore and Malaya in this language. Marxism has been a cementing force and authors belonging to different religions have contributed to fiction with a bias for 'socialist realism'. Malayalam stage has many plays with socio-political message—*Koottu Krishi* (Collective farm) being one such powerful play.

In Telugu there are Christian authors like Joshua and Muslim authors, too, though fewer than Malayalam. But the nationalist trend which one finds from Gurzad Apparao's famous line *Deshmante matti Kadoy Desh mante manushu loy* (The country is not mere land, it is the people), has been carried forward by 'progressive' poets like Shri Shri, Desharathi, C. Narayan Reddy, Arudra and so on. In the novels Unnava Laxminarayan wrote *Malpalli*, a novel about untouchables. There have been many translations from all Indian languages. Telugu stage has many 'progressive' plays like those written by Acharya Atreya.

In Mysore, there have been a tradition of Jain, Lingayat and Brahmin authors enriching its literature in the medieval period, as well as Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist and even atheistic writers adding their own contribution to the mainstream of Kannada literature. In modern times many authors have been influenced by Sri Aurobindo's philosophy : Bendre, Gokak, Mugali, Malwad and many others are good examples. In Kannada there are many authors whose mother-tongue is Marathi (like Bendre) or who write in Marathi (like S. B. Joshi). One author in Kannada received a Sahitya Akademi Award for writing a book on Bankim Chandra Chatterji. There have been many nationalist workers like R. R. Diwaker and Gangadharrao Deshpande who contributed also to literature. The Kannada novelist Karanth's fomaus work is called 'Back to the Soil', another author's novel is titled 'Gramayana'. The plays of Adya Rangacharya and Lankesh have powerfully exposed the shams and hypocrisies of modern life and Establishment.

Marathi and Gujarati

In the Western Zone these two languages have literatures with the tradition of nationalist writing of Tilak and Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi and Mahadev Desai and many others. There are many translations from one language into another. In fact the first saint-poet in Marathi Chakradhar was a Gujarati prince, turned work, and Kakasaneb Kalelkar has been an eminent Gujarati writer. Bombay being the common capital for these languages, we find Parsi authors writing in Gujarati, as well as Muslim poets like Ghani Dahiwala, Adil Mansuri or Shekh Ghulam Muhammad. In Maharashtra as Father Stephens had written *Khristayan*, poet Rev. N. B. Tilak was a Christian. From Shekh Muhammad to Amar Shekh there have been many Muslim Marathi poets. Amongst the living Marathi writers Dr. Y. M. Pathan, Syed Amin, Hamid Dalwai are Muslim. Not only writers of various faiths and creeds, but those belonging to different ideologies have been freely contributing their writings in Marathi.

As far as breaking the barriers of one's own region is concerned, one finds a novel in Marathi by G. N. Dandekar devoted to Bhakhra Nangal and its construction ; a novel by S. B. Biwalkar was written on Naokhali visited by Gandhiji ; there is a novel by Jyatsna Devadhar based on Rajasthan. In Gujarati there are novels not only with Saurashtra or Mewar and Malwa as their backgrounds ; but also on Bengal and Punjab. Linguistic, communal or caste barriers are slowly being shaken off. New powerful writers are coming up in these languages from the so-called depressed classes.

Northern Languages

The pace of social change in the Hindi speaking areas is relatively slow. So in Hindi though one finds many translations published from all other regional languages ; there are also many research theses published which are devoted to the study of comparative literatures ; yet very few writers from the Hindi region have written in other regional languages or used the cultural milieu of other provice as a base for their fiction. There are many writers from the South, Maharashtra, Punjab or Bengal who write in Hindi. But that does not disprove the fact that the Hindi-speaking writer, by and large, is conservative. Yet there are exceptions : Nirala wrote on Shinaji, Amritlal Nagar from Lucknow used a Tamil mythological tale for his novel 'Suhag Ke Nupur' ; or some historical novels were written by Brindavanlal Varma on Maratha heroes. Ram Vilas

Sharma has a predilection on Dara Shikuh. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Banarasidas Chaturvedi are some of the exceptional journalists.

Amongst the other northern languages in Urdu we find the nationalist tradition in the poems of 'Chakbast' and Kaifi Azmi, Ali Sardar Jafri and Saghar Nizami. In the big novel by Hayatulla Ansari, awarded by the Sahitya Akademi there is the history of National movement portrayed as if on a large canvas. Urdu progressive literature is remarkably free of any communal bias : both Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs have contributed to it Krishen Chander, Smak Chujhai,

Kashmiri has a very limited modern literature, yet both Muslims and Hindus have contributed to it : Mehjur and Masterji Zinda Kaul, Rahi and Nadim as poets ; and Akhtar Mohiuddin and Ved Rahi, are very well known as short story writers all over India.

Punjabi is a language which had a few non-Sikh writers like Chatrak, Nandy Satyarthi, Gargi or Shiv Kumar. Mostly the famous writers are progressive in their outlook. Taking their inspiration from Waris Shah and Vir Singh, modern poets like Amrita Pritam or Mohan Singh have written on sulfats with a wide range. Novelists like Nanak Singh, Bedi, Jaswant Singh 'Kanwal' and Dilip Kaur Tiwana have given a vivid account of life in Punjab. But very few authors have ventured beyon their region.

The above account, though sketchy and in a birds'-eye view manner, would give a picture of modern literature in various regional languages, which are trying to break the narrow walls and helping in building National Integration at various levels. Our great leaders of thought like Tagore, Gandhi and Aurobindo and our great political leaders have illumined and directed the way. May many younger writers pursue the same humanist values in their footsteps !

THOUGHT PATTERNS OF URDU LITERATURE

Mohammad Hasan*

Urdu literature is the bye-product of a cultural synthesis[1] not only between two simple puritan and unsophisticated cultures, but between the main streams of various cultural stocks. While the linguistic foundation of Urdu mainly rests on 'Hindustani-Khari Boli' with deep foundations in Sanskrit and Aryan culture, nonetheless, it owes a great deal to Persian and Central Asian influences too, which in their turn were a result of intermingling of different cultural influences. It is, therefore, not surprising that ever since its inception, Urdu literature has drawn a great deal from conceptual treasures of both indigenous and foreign sources. In a galaxy of its writers, one finds not only the traits of the Indian genius but also the glimpses of greater Asian culture which includes centres of Samarqand, Bukhara, Teheran, Shiraz and Tabriz. In fact, there are very few literatures which so comprehensively embody the cultural ethos[2] of the region.

To delineate the main characteristics of the personality of this cultural inheritance it is perhaps necessary to delve deep into the histories of the various empires which flourished and dwindled here. Most of them were a combination of Central Asian, Persian and Mongol cultures and yet forces of history brought them so close to each other as to evolve a distinct identity of their own. Even since the emergence of Islam as a dominant religion of the period, new cultural influences took shape which have often been described by a blanket phrase 'Islamic (or Muslim) culture'. In fact the expression is both inadequate and misleading for even before the birth of Islam certain traits were much too obvious and these continued to exist under different forms even after Islam became the dominant religion in this area. The famous Poet Iqbal[3] pointed out the Aryanisation of Islam which took place in Persia, which embraced Islam more or less as a nation and yet gave the new religion the mark of its own cultural traditions. It was in Persia and some parts of Central Asia that Islamic mysticism was codified and given a dominant place in the hegemony of Islamic thought.[4] Iqbal was again perhaps the first Muslim poet and philosopher to point out clearly similarity of approach between certain tenets of Islamic mysticism and that of Hindu mysticism - for instance, their common emphasis on the conception of negation of Self.

This is not to say that Islamic mysticism was born in Persia. In fact, every respectable Muslim sufi and saint has been careful to trace the origin of Islamic mysticism to the age of Prophet himself. Moreover, after the spread of Islam the various countries, the tradition of Ashaab-e-Sufa who led almost lives of renunciation in the pursuit of knowledge spread to far off countries and a number of saints appeared who preached simple living and high thinking, abhored wordly rituals and royal grandeur. But, however, old the mystic

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traditions may be it was nonetheless a dynamic phenomena which underwent several transformations in the process of its development. In the beginning, it was a search for puritanism[5] in Islam and insistence on the tenets of Islamic shariat. But after the Caliphate when the kingdom of Ummayids and Abbassids rose to royal glory and outgrew the ideas of simplicity and religious devotion as preached by the Prophet himself, a section of saints began to emphasise the futility of wordly glory and rejected the heresy of those Muslim kings who claimed to be the decendents of the Prophet and led the lives of debauch kings and chieftains. The period was that of stress and strain and these sufis were haunted by the fear of God[6] which they thought might strike these kings and their subjects for their unholy ways. It was in this period that Sufis like Ibrahim Adham and, later on, Ibn-i-Arabi propounded philosophical systems of mystical thought in Islam. The emergence of these new systems marked a tussel between the Establishment and the mystics. The poor mystic did not know how to rebel or protest against a system of exploitation to which he was not prepared to be a party. He, therefore, consoled himself by receding back in the fastnesses of forests and solicitude of monasteries where he could come in contact with the common people, listen to their everyday grievances, give them indigenous herbs and medicines or amulets and offer whatever consolation he could to the masses, which were being exploited before his own eyes. He shuddered to think of his participation in the prevailing exploitation and it was with this idea that he preached abstinence from the wordly riches, even ordinary comforts, and advised either to dedicate oneself to the good of the common people or to forget the evils of the contemporary world. Mysticism as interpreted later on, was not a definite positive philosophy in itself nor a mere ritual or quackery of distributing herbs or amulets. It was a protest against the Establishment, a veiled conflict between the haves' and have-nots.[7]

Later on, these abstaining mystics gained popularity not only with the masses but also with the royalty, and many chieftains and kings tried to placate them. Some of them succeeded in using them as their agents or as pretexts of gaining popularity with the masses. Critical analysis of Islamic mysticism as a system of social philosophy remains beyond our purview, especially because many learned works on the subjects[8] exist, yet the negative character of this philosophy must be pointed out in order to underscore the basic mood prevailing in Urdu poetry right from its inception to the XIX century. Rejection of happiness, riches, glory, joy, temptation in favour of sorrow, pathos and self-sacrifice stems from the concepts inherited by Urdu poetry from the Mystic poetry in Persian especially that of Sadi, Hafiz and Khayyam. After the Mongolian invasion which marked total eclipse of the Ummayid and Abbasid glory, death and destruction reigned supreme and the mystic poets stressed the transitoriness of the world - an idea which runs like a thread throught all the great poetry of the period. All of them agree on the point that the reality of the Universe is, by and large, unknowable and the next best thing would be to reject the temptation of wordly comfort and strive for the fulfilment of one's own self by living totally in the present and sacrificing one's own wishes and desires to the inevitable. The only virtue left in life is that of sacrificing oneself for the sake of others. Love of one's fellow beings, is the only paradise left within human reach.

Even before Ghaznavi and Ghori conquest of India, ideas travelled between Central Asia, Arabia and India and when cultural communion brought these

ideas closer together, conceptual afinity between these various cultures weaved a new fibre of cultural values. It is not surprising, for instance, to note that, in India, even Muslims adopted the names of even strictly religious rituals not from Arabic but from pre-Islamic Persian customs. For instance for daily prayers the word used was not '*Salat*'[9] (Arabic), but '*Namaz*' (old Persian-Pahlavi) or for fasting, not '*Som*' (Arabic) but '*Roza*' (Persian-Pahlavi). The same applies to other words like '*Fairista*' (not Malak) and '*Bihisht*' (not Jahnat) (Persian-Pahalvi) and so on. Thought patterns governing Urdu literature since its inception, therefore, were composed of a conglomeration of Saracenic[10] and Iranian (Aryan) influences which provided mystic background to this literature. Even from earliest days, Muslim mystics strove to spread their gospel of human brotherhood through allegorical tales, love stories, and verses reflecting their concepts of free thinking and universal love.[11]

Rooted in this background is the entire pattern of ghazal. Its diction was mainly determined by the Sufistic terminology prevailing in Persian poetry just after the fall of Baghdad in 1258 A.D.[12] Ghazal embodied love for free thinking, healthy scepticism and zest for life of abandon and spiritual fulfilment. It stems from the days when Mullas and Muslim divines were by and large the custodians of law and hence, active agents or collaborators of the then royalty or the Establishment known as the Caliphate. The Mulla, who was the law-giver of the times, insisted on the observance of the ritual. To him the world was of paramount importance, every contravention of which was a crime against law and faith. Every dissident was a heretic and every heretic a rebel. It was in this framework that Muslim sufis raised their tiny banner of revolt and insisted on the real spirit of faith against mere ritualistic worship of the 'word'. For the Mulla, appearances were everything, for the mystic the real belief was the love, the essence of all scriptures. For him, the religion of the religions was service to humanity and real love of God and his creation. As according to the mystic tenets, God does not need any worship and the various modes of his worship invented by the priests of various religions were irrelevant. This idea of tolerance and equality cemented the bonds between the down-trodden masses with the sufis, on the one hand, and alienated them from the Establishment, on the other. Mullas and kings both often declared them as heretics and they were accordingly persecuted, harassed and even hanged. It was this spirit of defiance to authority and dedication to free thinking that resulted into the adoption of a anti-shariat vocabulary in ghazals such as Wine, Saqi, Mai-Khana etc.

Undoubtedly deep mystic influences also led to unhealthy supersitions and discouraged to some extent, all vitality of action but the fact remains that it was the mystic tradition alone which gave new confidence to the poet to protest against the prevailing conditions of those times when alternatives to political and social exploitations were absent.

Mysticism dominated Urdu literature quite for some time and even when it decayed as an active force, somewhere in the second half of 19th century, it remained in vogue as a device which at once gave poetry new symbolism and colourfulness. Even poets like Nasikh, who were not mystics in any sense of the term chose to write couplets with mystic imagery and substance. Coupled with it was the classic concepts of morality derived mainly from Sadi's '*Gulistan*' Jalal-ud-Din Dawwani's' '*Akhlaq-i-Jalali*' and several other

treatises on morality. But these concepts were woven into the thought pattern of the period in a manner which gave central place to mystic vision of life. Human riches were ignoble while discovery of self and disdain in wordly temptations masked the height of knowledge.

With the advent of western influences in India, the very foundations of these patterns suffered a set-back. Under the British influence a new system of values, slowly but steadily, sprang up in various cities of India. Though not accepted at once, it still left its deep impact on the understanding of the intelligentsia particularly because in its wake sprang up educational and cultural institutions like Delhi college, Fort William college, and later on Anglo-Mohammadan Oriental college, Aligarh. With the former institutions, were associated writers like Master Ram Chander, Mir Amman and it was in Delhi college that stalwarts like Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, Zaka-Ullah, Mohammad Hussain Azad were educated. Prof. Spears in his "*Twilight of the Moghul's*" quotes Maulvi Zaka-Ullah of Delhi to the effect that when he used to report back to his friends and their parents in his own Mohalla about even elementary scientific experiments carried out in the college and school laboratory, the entire Mohalla used to stare at him in astonishment. Ghalib was, perhaps the first significant Urdu poet to have come across this entirely new system of values. It was a gruelling experience, for it put the entire citadel of old concepts upside down. After all, wordly riches were not to be abhorred and self abnegation or conquest of inner world not to be prized too much. Nature was something to be conquered and the universe still had many things to be explored and discovered. In a short span of a decade or so, the Indian intelligentsia, and among them Urdu writers, were thinking in terms of social reform and readjusting their new relationship with the changing environment. Ghalib's comments on Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's compilation of '*Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*' and his exaltation of human wisdom as the beacon light of all progress speaks volumes about a transformation of writers outlook of life. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan marked the final breaking off from the traditional thought pattern. In his personality are embodied all the major contradictions of the period. The British regime in India, as Karl Marx has rightly pointed out, had a dual role. On the one hand, it brought to the Indian economy political slavery and economic exploitation and yet, on the other, it heralded an era of improved communications, of printing press and new postal system. In its wake came certain blessings brought about by the Industrial revolution in the West. In short, it was a double-faced harbinger of political slavery and social reform. Sri Syed Ahmed Khan and before him, Raja Ram Mohan Roy[13], and several others, collaborated with the new regime as vanquished subjects of a triumphant nation which at that time, had under its hegemony almost half the world. Accepting their defeat, they at least appreciated the virtues of the new social reform brought about by their enslavement. Hence while politically reactionary they were socially progressive—the greatest social reformers, modern India can think of.

The new pattern of thought was dominated by a zest for a social reform, guiding principles of which were yet to be enunciated. Sir Syed described this central concept in one simple word "Nature". Translated into mundane terms, nature was a synonym for adaptation to prevailing association and political conditions, i.e., Westernisation to a certain extent without breaking the bonds of tradition and an attempt to re-interpret classical values into new modes

of thinking which may be acceptable to the modern European mind. Undoubtedly, this new consciousness released new energy in literature. The new writers selected Western modes of social behaviour as a model for themselves and ventured on a new path to social and cultural emancipation.

The voyage was not, however, without its hazards and its blessings. For it introduced new concepts of democracy, liberty and at a later stage, socialism, which accordingly changed the outlook of the Indian reader and writers. Economic and social exploitation by the British and the growing consciousness of it inculcated a new and sacred dissatisfaction in the educated Indians (who were now conversant with the best traditions of European liberalism through English literature). With the advent of the 20th century this silent dissent burst into violent eruption. Even beneath the placid appearances of romantic literature, waves of social and political disaffection were evident. Political poetry came in vogue and romantic fervour and revolutionary zeal expressed itself in myriad forms. Urdu literature had by now entered a new era. Its gaze was fixed on social and, to some extent, political problems of the period. Its canvas now spread from urban societies to the pastures and hamlets of the countryside. The healing thought of Rebirth or spiritual satisfaction of self-annihilation or mystical self-fulfilment began to recede. Literature in short became more human, more worldly. With the advent of the First World War, new tensions appeared. The two greatest influences being that of the Russian Revolution of October, 1917 and the discovery of Freudian theory of psyco-analysis. The glittering lights of the West were already flickering and poets like Iqbal were deeply impressed by new classics like "*Decline of the West*" and disillusioned by the downfall of human values as witnessed in Europe-which was for quite some time accepted by our writers as a dream world. The alternatives offered by the October Revolution were alluring and, for the first time, consciousness of class struggle (which ended in the final victory of the down-trodden) began to dawn in our literatures which finally resulted in the formation of the Progressive Writers movement in 1936.

The Freudian theory of psychoanalysis exploded the myth of human supremacy over the Universe for, according to Freud, Man was a mere prisoner in the hands of the "Unconscious", over which he had no control. In fact, he happens to be a mere play-thing in the hands of the Id and the Ego which were formed, incidentally, by the inheritance and environment in which sex plays pivotal role. The story onwards has many points in common with practically all the modern Indian languages. The same influences, the same responses. But what distinguishes Urdu literature from others is that due to its deep commitment with mystic free-thinking and human fraternity it could not bind itself to any narrow dogma. Its commitment has more or less always been to the healthy democratic traditions of life. It has ridiculed narrow-mindedness and hypocricy and has developed, throughout the ages, an abiding faith in human dignity. Its abhorence of rituals, its rejection of appearances has always brought it closer to the collective conscious of the masses. In the post-independence era, Urdu literature suffered a set-back. Urdu was not confined to any one particular region of the country and hence was not given recognition as the official language of any particular region. Moreover, being caught in the whirlpool of politics, it was denied its rightful place in India, its homeland. Yet the common heritage defied political bifurcation. Urdu writers on both sides of the Radcliffe line continued to sing of their common, glorious

past. For a decade, nostalgia was the dominant theme. Writers lamented the good old days when there were so many blessings to share. Later on the decay of feudal values and slow and steady emergence of new Industrial society and its impact on our cultural norms dominated our thinking. Attempts were made to coordinate the new experiments and experiences both in thought and technique with the grass roots of our folk culture. New experiments and technique became fashionable. With the onslaught of industrialisation, placidity of old rural life began to be disturbed. New cities and townships emerged and the tempo of urban life increased which resulted not only in the enhancement of Industrial outlook but also in any sharpening of the internal unrest of our youth. Still Urdu literature is enmeshed in the clutches of a crisis. For the crisis is that of the Indian economy which has not yet outgrown its feudal and agrarian framework completely and has grafted industrialisation on its feudal framework. The old order is not yet dead and and the new is yet to be born. It is in this twilight of death and resurrection that Urdu literature awaits its moment of destiny.

NOTES

[1] It must be pointed out that the cultures which mingled to form this tradition had common Aryan traits.

[2] For Central Asian influences, see Prof. K. A. Faruqi's Preface on Ghalib's 'Dastanbu' (English), Dept of Urdu, University of Delhi.

[3] and [4] See Iqual's Preface to 'Asrar-i-Khudi', his long Persian poem.

[5] For the beginnings of Islamic Mysticism, Prof. E. G. Browne's 'A Literary History of Persia' Vol. I still remains the best study.

[6] Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami's 'Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht' (Urdu) Nadwatul—musannifin, Delhi, admirably traces the transformation of mystic thought.

[7] Sardar Jafri's Preface of 'Kabir Bani' (Urdu-Hindi) Hindustani Book Inst, Bombay and Mumtaz Husain's article 'Kuchh Adab-i-Alia ke muta'llig' in 'Shahrah' 1952 discuss the class-character of Islamic mysticism.

[8] Sajjad Zahir's "Zikr-i-Hafiz."

[9] For greater details, see Prof. Nazir Ahmad's article 'Urdu Adab Par Zartushti Asrat' Fikr-O-Nazar, Aligarh 1963.

[10] and [11] See Shibli's 'Sherul Ajam' (Urdu).

[12] Ibid, vol. 3

[13] Cf : Q. A. Wadud's article on Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 'Creative Bengal' and W. C. Smith's "Modern Islam in India" (4th edition).

PEOPLE'S POET OF INDIA NAZIR AKBARABADI

N. V. Glebov

Nazir Akbarabadi's contemporaries have not left for us any detailed account of his life, but the growing popularity of the poet among millions of common people of India attracts ever increasing attention of research scholars to him.

Many semi-reliable stories, legends and myths are connected with the name of Nazir who lived among ordinary, people, and to retrieve his authentic biography in details does not seem for the time being possible. No authobiographical or other literary notes of the poet have been preserved. If such notes did exist, they have been either lost or are not yet objects of study by literary critics.

Hence the principal source from which it would be possible to get information about the personal life of the poet, are his works, unfortunately, published and studied not thoroguhly enough either.

Nazir's authentic birth-date, as well as his place of birth have not been, to this day, precisely established.[1] The majority of scholars believe that he was born in Delhi in 1740, soon after the ravaging raid by Nadir Shah.

Nazir's (his real name was Vali Muhammad) father Muhammad Faruq belonged to a noble but not a wealthy family, from generation to generation supplying soldiers to the rulers of Delhi and Agra. Certain authors, however, think that his father was a small official of town administration.

About Nazir's birth and childhood the following story is told. Before him there were twelve daughters in the family, then this boy was born, whom a holy hermit predicted long life and immortal glory. The parents trying to guard the son against any harm and evil eye passed him for a daughter, until he was seven years old. He grew in the family as a great favourite, passing his time in fun and amusements. Flying kites, he took part in pigeon fighting, sporting competitions, caught and domesticated singing-birds, played chess.

Nazir kept up his basket in sports, national games till the end of his life, and if inspite of traditions he never emphasised his services in poetics, he enumerated his victories in sports quite readily.

Friends, almost (I am almost hundred years old)
whole century lies behind
And here the whole body is covered with wrinkles,
But when I go to show my strength on the wrestling ground
I consider just Rustam equal to me
Even now young fellows can't try their strength with me[2]

Nazir received first-rate education of those days. Logic, rhetoric, theology, philosophy and ethics made up the course of discipline he was studying. He knew Indian art very well, music and dances, besides Urdu and Hindi—mother tongues of he poet, he was proficient in Arabic and Persian, Sanskrit, Punjabi,

Braj and Avadhi. He was acquianted with Persian and Indian works on poetics, old tazkira, various text-books, particularly with the "Halikbari" word-book, widely known in those days.

While he was still young man Nazir tried to master the poetical heritage of Firdousi, Rumi, Saadi, Hafiz, Umar Khayam, Amir Khusru and Bedil, "Padmavat" Muhammad Jaisi, poetry of Kabir and Tulsidas, works of Guru Nanak. Works of his predicessors (of course in the original) were a subject of careful study, "His knowledge of poetics, writes Majnoon Gorakhpuri, corresponded to the level of the knowledge of the epoch.... His poems in style and mastery were not inferior to the poetry of Mir, Sauda, Insha, Mushafi, Atish or Nasih."[3]

In Nazir's works we often come across images and subjects, taken from Indian mythology and Persian literature which testifies to great erudition of the poet. Hence the point of view of some researchers, who persistently emphasize his lack of education, appears absolutely unconvincing.

In the beginning of fifties Muhammad Faruq died. He did not leave behind him any means of livelihood and all the responsibility of maintaining the family fell on the young shoulders of the twenty-two years old Nazir. Together with his relatives he moved to Agra, where in the beginning he settled in the district of Nuri Darvaza and subsequently in Taj-ganj near Taj-Mahal.

Excellent education and the initial success in the domain of literature opened up before Nazir a possibility of becoming a court poet, but he valued above all personal and creative freedom and did not want to sell his inspiration. Later when he became famous he was twice invited to the court, with a promise of high position and wealth. It is said that Nazir refused the money and the invitation. "I am a poor pen pusher, where shall I go, I am no good for the rich".[4]

Like many other poets, having no permanent source of income he chose the job of a teacher and was for many years a tutor-mentor of Raja Vilasrai's children with a monthly reward of seventeen Rupees. In those days the life of a teacher was quite hard. "If a poet teaches children, it means his lot is hard," says Sauda in one of his poems.[5] Nazir himself also has written about it a number of times :—

Poor poet teaches children for the sake of his daily bread (Roti)
Court poet composes laudatory odes (Qaseed) for the sake of his daily bread.[6]
Poor fellow teaches children of the poor,
Poverty does not leave him the whole of his life.[7]

Love for poetry was awakened in Nazir very early and determined his future lot.

There was no stronger passion than to compose ghazals,
Poetry became joy of my life[8]

In 1768, the well-known Mir Taqi Mir visited Agra, and Nazir read out to him his ghazal. The venerable poet was pleased with it.

Nazir Akbarabadi wrote a great deal. In his works we find reflected his own life, thoughts about art, about the reality around him, about people, about the destiny of the country and the people. Every poem conveys personal experience of the poet, personal estimate of the events which were taking place.

I changed many profession in my life
I put on many masks in my life
I wore sacred thread, and becoming a Pujari
ornamented my forehead with tika
I performed yoga, wore turban of a pilgrim.
Sword and shield served me long years
And afterwards I caught singing-birds in nets
On rivers I have vanquished swimmers, in athletic circles
I measured my strength.
Sweets and betel from stands I sold,
Quality baskets and cages I made and took them to bazar
I made wooden toys and tops
And taught children of the poor to learn a profession
I organised bear-fights on open grounds in towns
In bazars I made monkeys to dance....[9]

In these lines one feels the striving of the poet to know life from as closely quarters as possible, personally test everything that he had a chance to observe in streets, squares and bazars of Delhi and Agra, in popular outdoor feasts in Mathura and Brindaban. He always maintained closest relations with commoners. Traders, artisans, fakirs and dervishes came to him with a request to write for them. Thus appeared the poems "Kora bartan" ("New vessel"), "Agra-ki-Kakri" ("Cucumber from Agra"), "Banjare-nama" ("Poem about wanderers") etc. These can be heard even today in bazars and streets of Indian towns. Potters and greengrocers commend their goods in the words of Nazir, street-artists and conjurers, folk-singers and narrators (of folk tales), trainers of bears, serpent-charmers warble them. Many of his poems have penetrated into life and have become peculiar ritual songs, by which religions ceremonies are accompanied.

In Nazir's work the actual life of Indian society on the borderline of the 18th and the 19th centuries has been represented in all its variety. He smashed the foundation of the poetry which was considered unbreakable before and infinitely moved its thematic borders beyond. He introduced into it a new hero, namely people. A common man and the world around him, misery and devastation, joblessness and hunger, ruin of the old trade, decline of commerce, national and religious festivals, nature of the country and its mode of life - all this became the subject of his depiction. That is why already during his lifetime Nazir Akbarabadi was called "national poet of India".

More than one hundred and thirty years separate us from the day of his death (August 16, 1830). During this period the Urdu literature has advanced far ahead in its development, the aesthetic views of people have undergone changes, the poetry is facing new tasks. But the creative work of the people's poet has withstood the test of time.

Out of rich poetical inheritance of Nazir, which had reached according to the evidence of certain sources, two hundred thousand beits, hardly tenth part of this has come down to us. A great deal of work has been done in India in collecting and publishing his works. However many extant manuscripts are still scattered in private libraries and are inaccessible for study. One of the research scholars of Nazir, Saed Muhammad Mahmud Rizvi Mazmur Akbarabadi, in his work "Ruh-e-Nazir" ("Spirit of Nazir") mentions a dozen of names of residents in Delhi, Agra, Brindaban and Saharanpur, who

have in their possession still unpublished works of the poet. The same author mentions that many unpublished poems by Nazir till to-day are living in the memory of people and are passed on from generation to generation[10].

The first edition of the works by Nazir Akbarabadi, as Garson de Tassi informs us, was brought out in 1820, in Devnagri letters.[11] The next one appeared in 1850 in Urdu script "Nastalik". Mahammed Ashraf Ali Lukhnavi, another scholar doing research of the works of the poet ascribes the publication of the first collection of Nazir's works "Kuliyad-e-Nazir" to the seventies of the last century. This collection contains about seven thousand beits copied down by Raja Vilasrai's sons. It had several editions (the second saw the light of the day in Merath in 1882). In 1900 Muhamad Abdul Gafur, author of the book about Nazir, "Zindagani-e-benazir" ("Life of a Peerless"), prepared a more complete collection of the poet's works. Farhat Alla Beg, who has written the book "Gulistan-e-bekhizan" ("The Unfading Garden flowers") searched for the divan of Nazir's ghazles, considered to have been lost, and in 1942 published in Delhi in collaboration with the Society for the Development of Urdu (Anjuman-e- Tarraqi-e-Urdu ("Hind").

The most complete collection of Nazir's works was published in the forties of the XX century in Lucknow (third edition came in 1951). It was prepared by Ashraf Ali Lukhnavi and Abdulbari Assi and contained almost 15 thousand beits. Still a number of earlier published poems such as "Bhonchal" ("Earthquake"), "Ek Raqassa-ka Uruj-o-zaval" ("Fate of Dancer") etc. has not been included into it.

One of the last collection of works, in point of time, appeared in 1959 in Devnagri with a commentary in Hindi.

In accordance with the tradition Nazir's poems are not dated, i.e. the dates when they were written are not given and therefore it is not possible to trace according to the periods the development of his world outlook and artistic method. Research works of scholars who have utilized, especially, certain notes of the poet, enable us to restore, though approximately, a general picture.

Published works by Nazir give proof of the fact that he availed himself of the most varied poetical genre meter which is in vogue even today : Ghazals, Qaseeds, Masnavi, Rubayts, Qita's, oriental stanza-tarkib and tarjiih band, Mussadas and the so called Nazms, or poems on a certain subject.

Nazir did not work out his style at once, the blossoming of his poetical craftmanship was preceded by a long period of apprenticeship and creative quests. In the beginning, like Amir Khusro, he created "variezated" Ghazals, where lines in Persian alternated with lines in Urdu. Many verses were written in Farsi (Persian) and are of initiative character. Next appeared a cycle of ghazales, in Urdu, keeping with the demands of the classical poetry.

The works of the early period provide answer to the question, who his were teachers and what they taught him ? An important place among them is occupied by the peculiar form Tazmin. The poet took a certain line from works, for example, of Hafiz, Saadi, Amir Khusro, Bedil and developed the idea, contained therein, preserving size, rhythm, and rhyme of the classical verse. He attained extreme precision, reproducing the manner of writing of some author. However-even then Nazir tried to avoid blind following the traditional writing. A majority of his ghazals is connected with a single content - Ghazal-e-Musalsal, and at that time as well as before him such a form was almost unknown.

In a number of Nazir's ghazals we find along with characters of Persian poetry - Farhad and Shirin, Leila and Majnoon-also represented lyrical character, created on the Indian soil and close to Indian people. Such are Ram and Sita, Nal and Dayamanti, such are characters of Punjabi epic poem Waris Shah, Hir and Ranjha - immortal personification of love. The poet considerably widened the thematic framework of the genre and along with love motive introduced into the ghazal description of Indian festivals, Hindu rites and in general religious ceremonies etc. Still ghazal did not satisfy Nazir and subsequently he preferred nazm to it, free-rhyming couplets of unrestricted size which gave larger scope for putting into effect his ideas. Most of his works, have been produced in this favourite poetical metre, i. e. poems about outstanding people of religious reformation (Kabir, Salim Chisti, Guru Ganja Bakheh, Guru Nanak), about holidays and customs of Hindus and Muslims, about the nature of the motherland etc.

A number of verses of Nazir are written in genre of Mussaddas.[12] No matter how strange it may appear, it is a fact that in critical Urdu literature, introduction of this genre in poetry is attributed to Hali. Qaseed attracted the poet least of all and there are only three of them containing some philosophical reflections about the world in Sufi spirit.

In the collection of Nazir's works, the verses are arranged not according to the formal, but according to the thematic principle. The sequence in the arrangement is determined by the compilers, who in several cases have changed even the title of the composition. Verses called philosophical, about money, gold, misery, daily bread, flattery etc. have been put in separate sections. Under different headings are combined satire and humour, folk tales, lyrical poems on the subjects of Persian Literature like "Leila and Majnoon" etc.

* * *

Nazir Akbarabadi occupies a special place in Urdu literature. As stated above he introduced a new subject and a new character in the poetry. He is the first to speak about common people of his country, their feelings and experience, about ordinary things and phenomena, about everything that was considered before him as a "low" subject, unworthy of description.

However, Nazir's poetry was produced not in isolation of classical traditions. He absorbed and fused in his own creative imagination the best achievements of classical literature and most popular examples of the national poetic art.

Although on the whole the classical literature was far from the people, Nazir was able to pick out native motives, and correspondent to the popular thinking and used them extensively.

He regarded himself a legitimate heir of Rudaki, Firdousi, Saadi, Hafiz and to the same degree of Kabir and Tulsidas. In his works one comes across characters of "Shah-nama", of "Leila and Majnoon", as well as of "Ramayana" and "Mahabharata". This bond with classical tradition, to a certain degree determines the vitality and everlasting quality of Nazir's poetry, its influence on the development of the entire subsequent Urdu literature, not excluding even the modern.

The main feature characterising Nazir's creative work, as we repeat, is his affirmation of folk tendencies in Urdu literatrue. It is precisely this that conditioned innovation in the contents, form and language of his poetry

Nazir's striving to bring poetry close to people clearly effected also the choice of new genres and a different approach to the fundamental genre of the classical poetry, namely ghazal. True, and it must be stated, that certain ghazals do not differ at all from those which were produced by the poet's contemporaries.

When came to the banquet the flaing-faced
Lamps suddenly flashed out and extinguished
And the cup bearer became benumbed with gobbet raised high
Like a certain curdled image in a picture.[13]

Here everything is traditional : a lamp on the point of extinguishing as well as a cupbearer numbed in an attractive pose, and an image of abstract flame ardent sweetheart, about whom, as was customary in poetry, is said in masculine gender. Every beit is absolutely independent and it can be easily excluded from the poem.

Several ghazals are typical production of Sufi doctrine with symbolics common to them. They show that the poet paid his tribute to his passion for Sufism.

In the ocean of life people are
Literary like bubbles in a stream of rain water
In the eternity of rotation of the Universe people are
Literally like small features in the whirlpool of a waterfall.
Heart blood, like amber wine,
Sallowness of the skin, like moonlight in the night
Peaceful song and fast dance
Distressed heart only phantom will comfort
What is called duration of human life
Is only a vestige of a ripple on smooth water
What is called beauty and love are
Only a flash of lightning and a drop of mercury
What is life and death ?
Only sheer dream and sleep
Books of life will all be open
When Nazir recognises the book of his heart.[14]

In the ghazals of the poet we quite often meet the traditional character of a rind, who is contrasted with a hypocrite. The Rind personifying ideal Sufi, instead of toing to mosque goes to Maikhana to drink wine (divane revelation), and he enjoys life there :

What is there to wonder, friends : only yesterday
Nazir was satisified with monastery
But today he sits in a Maikhana and is happy
With a cup-bearer and wine.[15]

However, in several works in ghazal genre Nazir consciously deviates from the accepted standards. This is also expressed in his departure from lyrical theme, while keeping the traditional form and in availing himself of the new artistic methods. The first point can be illustrated by the following example—

What is it to be dead, to have a magnificent burial ?
Adorning won't be of any use to him, Courpse will remain so.
I myself have seen several times many of those who were buried
In expensive dresses, in perfumed shrouds.

Extracted from tombs, the dead had neither bodies nor the
threads of the shroud.
Oh, Nazir, a desire to have a tomb in futile, it is foolish[16]

The poem cited above is almost completely different from the classical pattern. Firstly, it is tied up by a single high-principled and aesthetic conception. Secondly, the love motives are absent in it. The poet speaks here as an opponent of magnificent and expensive burial ceremony which is ruinous to poor persons, and clearly develops the idea of equality between the rich and the poor before God.

The Ghazal which Nazir called "Fate of a Danseuse" is very interesting[17]. Its composition also shows that the author is leaving classical patterns behind. The poet moves from particular details, from solitary, phenomena to generalisation, strives to show in development the theme handled. The poem is divided into two parts : in the first part he speaks of the beauty of the danseuse, about her success and wealth, about her enumerable admirers :

Her beauty is uncomparable, her figure resemblex cypress
Lips bright roses, her smile is sweet
Joy and laughter rule in her house,
In wealth and voluptuousness the days of her life glide.

So far nothing contradicts clasical requirements. But the poet continues to elaborate the subject in the second part :

Years passed, the bright flower-garden withered
Where are you, the youth and freshness of the danseuse ?
In the spiring there is no intoxication—her glance has died out,
her lips have faded.
Only yesterday though blossomed to the envy of other flower
Today thou art wild brudock seed
Her heart is broken, life is just a torment and pain.
It's all the same, where such a thing has happened. About this
Nazir has related as a lesson.

Whether it was like that or otherwise,
such is the practice of our land.[18]

The last lines of the poem stress that the poet here does not speak just about some particular danseuse, that her fate is typical for many ; premature old age and misery await them, because "such is the practise of our land".

Nazir greatly widened the thematics of ghazals. He did not stop at describing ordinary, everyday subjects and phenomena. By this principally new attitude to literature, principally new understanding what is "high" and "low" in poetry, he wanted to show that intrusing of actual reality into poetry makes it more accessible to all and makes it more humane. No matter what the poet spoke about - whether it was a poem about Indian nature, or his philosophical thoughts on the fate of the country and the people, it always reflected the poet's striving to bring the poetry closer to life. Behind the visible and material world. as the poet reflects it, always stands a character whom the poet sympathizes with—it may be an Indian toiler artisan or a factory-worker earning his livelihood in the sweat of his brow, it may be a poor peasant who has known hunger and misery.

Nazir's ability to see poetry in the most prosaic things was dictated by his deep interest in the life of common people. He was conscious of the importance of human labour as the basis of social life, sincerely he sympathized with the sorrows and joys of human beings, understood their psychology.

Many of Nazir's poems were written for people of different professions. They became part of their daily life, merged in folklore and people gladly repeat them, although hardly anyone of them know the author's name. Here is for instance a poem "Cucumbers from Agra".

Cucumbers from Agra : excellent, sweet and tender,
Like the stem of sugarcane, like at thin spindle,
Like the eyes of Farhad, like the necklace of Shirin,
This is a sigh of Majnoon, these are fingers of Leila.
Juicy, soft, tender cucumbers from Agra.
And still lovelier from Sikanderabad.
This is golden, and the other one tender-green,
By their side amethyst is ashamed, emerald grows pale.
This one is slightly curved. Hello, look here, necklace of Heer.
And the other tapering here, is the flute of Ranjha.
Juicy, soft, tender cucumber from Agra.
And still lovelier from Sikanderabad.[19]

Certain features of this poem are characteristic of other works by Nazir too. Hence it is necessary to speak about them in more detailed way.

It is written in a very popular metre in Urdu poetry, called Giroh-band or Musaddas. Every stanza of this consists of six lines. The first stanza has single rhyme, which is repeated in the last two lines of the subsequent stanza, and in the rest of the stanzas first four verses have an independent rhyme. In keeping with poetical traditions every last beit of the stanza of giroh-band was to consequently represent beit from a ghazal by some well-known poet. Precise ovservance of such a form fettered possibilities of the author and Nazir broke this rule. The last two lines in his six-lined verses are either repeated from stanza to stanza, as in the given example, and create a peculiar refrain, or each stanza is different, but serves the same purpose. It is precisely in such a form that the metre of Musaddas has become widespread among people and was subsequently worked out by Hali and later by other poets.

In this poem the author has used specific poetic means, which were determined by Nazir's striving to bring closer the Persian and Indian sources of Urdu poetry, its characters and conceptons, drawn from literature and folklore. This side by side with "Shirin's necklace" and "Leila's fingers", "Farhad's eyes" and "Majnoon's sighs" we come across "Heer's necklace" and "Rajha's flute", cucumbers are compared with sparkling emerald and amethyst or with slender sugar-cane and graceful spidle.

Another poem of this series, "New Vessel", written also in the same metre - musaddas, testifies to Nazir's ability to poeticize the simplest things. Clay vessels are the subjects of everyday Indian life. Everyone is familiar with their various types since his childhood and therefore can easily appreciate the poet's mastery and his skill to work out any subject. Here we find a glazed vessel as well as one adorned with ornaments and small cups for oil, and clay pitchers for keeping cold water.

If water falls into this jug - it is priceless,
Every drop of this water - is a drop of amrita
Splash on your face water from this jug
And you will know that this water is better than any amrita[20]

According to the classical tradition in poetry one was not supposed to refer to historical events or those ones taking place at the moment, a poet was not supposed to mention the dates either. Exceptions were made only regarding years of life and death of great poets. But they were mentioned in the form of tarikh, i.e. a chronogram, conveying the meaning of figures in the respective combinations of letters. Nazir was an eye-witness of an earthquake. In one of his poems he narrated in detail about this calamity. He gave there the exact date when that occurred, i.e. he intentionally violated the requirements of "high" style.

The dreadful event occurred in 1218 (Hijri)
On the twelveth day of Jamadi month,[21]
On the night from Thursday to Friday
The earth began to shake at the command of Creator of Nature
Rivers spilled, mountains towns and forests began to tremble .....
Entire villages disappeared into the earth
Pillars quivered, temples rocked, terror-stricken people ran
away screaming Ram ! Ram ! with the name of Allah ![22]

It must be noted that the poet while narrating about events, close to both Muslims and Hindus, consciously combines vocabulary of Urdu and Hindi. Here, for instance, the word "earthquake" has two synonyms "zalzala" (Urdu) and "bhonchal" (Hindi). This is typical for Nazir's poetry as a whole. In one of his works he writes that when he speaks to a Muslim he says : "Allah !" when to a Brahman : "Ram !".[23]

This ability to find a language for mutual understanding while speaking with people of different religions has always distinguished Nazir. A deep knowledge of life, morals and manners of the Indian people, perhaps more than anything else, affected his works on the customs and traditions of the Hindu population. Long staying in Agra among Hindus, made a definite influence on Nazir's poetry. The cult of Vishnu and Krishna, divine love of Radha and Krishna, bright and crowded Hindu festivals such as Holi, Diwali, Basant and semi-religious ceremonies of Hindu festivals such as Rakhi (Rakshabandhan) - tying amulets as a simbol of help and security for happiness, samadhan - meeting the parents of the bridegroom and the bride, and all such things served as a subject for a series of his poems. Their titles speak for themselves, e.g. "Bhairon ki taarif" (Eulogy of Shiva"), "Baldeoji ki mela" ("Festival of Baldeoji"), Janam-ei-Kanhaiyaji" ("Avatar of Krishna"), "Mahadeo ka byah" ("Wedding of Mahadeo") etc. Here is a description of Shiva's statue :

The dark image of thee fills my eyes,
Ashes on the dark body and a garland of skulls around the neck,
Eyes shining like lamps and a goblet of wine in hand
Listen, oh my Lord, I am thy slave in my heart.
Hardly thine hair quiver in anger,
And in hell the sky, the earth and mountains collapse.[24]

Dealing with the plots, connected with Hindu customs, Nazir tries to avoid words borrowed from the Persian language. In the poem quoted he widely uses Sanskritisms or words of the Sanskrit origin, which had become current in Hindi : *tika*, *diya* (lamp), *mala* (garland), *parbat* (mountain), *dharti* (earth), *akash* (sky), patal (hell, nether regions).

It must be said, that in the works devoted to festivals and ceremonies, the religious theme is treated rather in a sense representing the way of life. It is not the dogmas of faith that interest the poet in religious functions, but the behaviour of the people, lively pictures of everyday life. Even the motive of divine appearance of Vishnu on the earth in the image of Krishna is used by Nazir for describing the birth of a child in an ordinary Indian family:

> Happiness comes to a house if a boy is born in it
> In the heart of every one there is love and joy if a boy is born in the house
> All the misfortunes are forgotten, if a boy is born in the house.
> The house is full of light and music if a boy is born in it.[25]

These lines are saturated with joy, they sound like a hymn to the birth of a new human being.

Description of holidays and folk festivals occupy a large place in Nazir's poetry. One can hardly find another Indian poet, who has paid so much attention to these things. With extreme precision does the poet convey the atmosphere of vigour and cheer, peculiar to the favorite Indian festivals of Holi and Diwali.

> When signs of Holi dawned
> The music of Rabat mingled with Sitar
> The music and dance became the order of the day.
> In such a happy and merry mood the celebration of Holi progressed.[26]

Or :

> Once again the Diwali lights were lit in every house,
> Every direction shone with the glow of Diwali
> Every heart throbbed with the thrill of Diwali
> The feeling of happiness of Diwali touched every one's heart,
> The day of Diwali became a day spring.[27]

Often the poet gives details, which are not known to every Indian today. Thus he speaks about the old custom of wearing yellow dresses during the period between the holidays of Basant and Holi, about using perfumes made from Champa flower :

> The fragrance of Champa flowers and the yellow saris of beauties
> Remind us of merry pictures of the Holi festival.[28]

He speaks about the custom of bespattering one another with coloured water :

> What a pleasure it is to bespatter young beauties with colours,
> One beauty will say in confusion : "Ah ! Ah !" Another one will tell you
> As if asking for something : "Rakh, rakh."[29]

In the same realistic way Nazir describes the festivals of Musulmans-Eed and Shab-e-baraat. Young and old people enjoy themselves, jokes and bursts of laughter are heard, which are like the bursts of crackers and (crackers) serpents.

Someone's moustaches and someone's eye-lashes
Shab-e-Baraat got burnt,
Into someone's white beard kindling sparks cast Shab-e-Baraat.[30]

The poems of this series are outspokenly joyous. In contrast to the majority of medieval poets, whose works were permeated with pessimism, who preached the illusoriness of the earthly existence and sinfulness of enjoyment, Nazir in a number of his works speaks as a person who loves life, and aspires to make life on the earth beautiful. His buoyance and optimism is the buoyance and optimism of the people. He calls himself a poet-jester, a poet-rejoicer.

Everyone knows that Nazir is a jolly fellow
That every line of his is flavoured with pungency and joke.[31]

However, other motives also are heard in his poems. The poet draws the reader's attention to the facts of social injustice :

Sweetmeat seller having arranged his wares
Shouts out - O Lala, Diwali has come :
Someone buys Batashe while someone buys Barfi
But the toy-seller has a more brisk sale
The one whose business poor
Even he has taken loans for the day
He laughs and tells his creditors, Diwali has come, we give everything.[32]

Here the author does not yet speak out his attitude to the facts observed, he just states them. But his position does not leave us in doubt. Nazir's interest in day-to-day life of common people logically develops into a deep thinking on the fate of the people. Hence social theme is extensively presented in his works.

It was not necessary for Nazir, as it was to Khalifa Harun-Ur-Rashid from "One thousand and one nights", to disguise and secretly observe the life of the people, so as to find out and how and on what his fellow-citizens live. He lived among them, taught their children, shared their joys and sorrows. Everything that the poet saw - unemployment, ruin, destruction, mass hunger, - he reflected in his poems. He told the world the stern truth about distresses and sufferings of millions of peasants, artisans and poor people of Indian and showed their misery against the background of luxury and wealth of the proprietor classes. Contraposition of "those and these", "rich and poor", "all-powerful and disinherited" is carried on almost in every work of Nazir.

It is noteworthy that the method of contrast is used even in his poems about nature, in particular in the well-known poem "Barsaat Ka Tamasha" (Spectacle of barsat i.e. rain). Many Urdu poets have written about the rainy season in India before and after Nazir. But if they exhausted the subject as soon as they described one of the seasons, for Nazir it was always just a peculiar setting, behind which unfolded a narrative about human life.

"Spectacle of barsaat" is written in five-line stanzas (Mukhammas) and according to the tradition begins from the words about renovation of nature.

Intoxicated clouds are gathering over the air
with the drunkenness of the downpour playing havoc on the earth
unbroken streams flow from the sky flooding the land and the sea alike
The gardens are getting drenched while the grass is bathing

O friends, what an ecstacy these rains have brought with them !
Waves splash in the lakes and rivers surge and swell.
Peacocks, 'Papihas and Koyals' create melody of sounds.
Downpour is incessant and the canals overflow
It is raining cats and dogs and the clouds are proud :
Oh friends, what an ecstacy these rains have brought with them ![33]

The nature comes to life, forests and fields become green, flowers blossom out, the earth emits sweet odours, birds, these heralds of love and grief-sing

Hearing flowring melody of Pee Pee,
People become restless
And say : "Enough of it, O, "Papiha". My heart breaks at your singing :
O Friends, what an ecstacy these rains have brought with them ![34]

When the "Koyal" sings one's heart is filled with sadness. The sorrowful singing evokes tears of all people, whether poor or rich

Hearing sorrowful songs of birds weep
even those who sleep on sofas, sinking in flowers,
As well as those, who sleep on bare charpais.[35] [36]

But it is not the same cause that has evoked these tears. People meet "barsaat" (rains) differently.

Some sit in contentment in their bungalows
Drink wine from beautiful cups and dream of marvellous land.[37]
To the poor the rainy season cannot bring joy
For poor grief became a song
They weep, wiping their eyes with dirty and torn flap
It is damp in the house, the clothes got wet,
The hearth has come down, and on the shelf no earthen-ware is intact
O friends ! what an ecstacy these rains have brought with them ![38]

And further :

Some sit in their palaces, a wonderful view pleasing their hearts,
Others get wet in their cramped closets under a straw roof
The rich walk in covered verandas
The poor go out for alms in the rain
O friends ! what an ecstacy these rains have brought with them !
Those who are rich, in rainy season ride on elephants with marquee over their heads
And poor people like me wallow in mud, carrying shoes and rolling up their trousers,
O friends ! what an ecstacy these rains have brought with them ![39]

There is no clearly pronounced protest in the poem. The poet as if leaves it to the readers themselves to draw their conclusions from what they have read. But he again and again emphasizes that he himself does not belong to those,

Whose body is soft and delicate, like dough,
Who wraps himself in rainy season in dowry showls
The poet emphasizes that he represents the ones,
Whom poverty forces to forget pride and shame,

Who cover their heads with grass mats or sack cloths
to protect themselves from rain.[40]

Social contract also is underlined by artistic means. When Nazir speaks about the rich, the poet writes in a "high" style of court poetry, but speaking about the poor, he introduces popular images, comparisons, phrases, gives numerous everyday-life details.

The exultant refrain repeated from stanza to stanza and the picture of the wild blossoming and renovation of nature given at the beginning of the poem, have been called up to show in a still sharper light the hard conditions of people's life as though to set off the injustice existing in human society.

In his social poems a lively and brilliant joke gives way to devastating irony. In Urdu poetry Sauda is considered to be the founder of satirical trend. However, he regarded satire mainly as the means of struggle against his literary opponents and ill-disposed persons, and rarely he used it to criticise certain aspects of the reality. Nazir's satire is of quite a different nature. It fully reflects the popular point of view on ugly side of life. We can find in it condemnation of idle life of aristocrats, caustic ridiculing of court flatterers, greedy mullahs and vain-glorious rich, exposing the vices of feudal society.

Satirical trend is expressed, for instance, in the poem entitled "*Khushamad ki Filasafy*" (Philosophy of flattery") :

The one who can flatter is rich and noble,
But the one who despises flattery is poor for ever....
Smooth-tongued do not know what is honour or what is shame
They will praise something bitter for being bitter
They will find a good thing in a bad one
And if they will think it profitable they will praise an ass, a cat, a dog.[41],[42]

Satirical odes about gold, about rupee, paisa and kauri[42] are of expository nature. In these works of Nazir most varied themes are dealt with, but all these poems are combined by the thought that money and wealth corrupt people :

People on our Earth whether Sah or Vazir
Saint or devotee, poor or beggar —
All are caught in the nets of gold.[43]
For the sake of wealth crimes are committed, all the evil on this earth is caused by it.
For the sake of money takes a sword in his hands
He kills man his brother for the sake of money.
For sake of money he dies
He tolerates abuses and beatings
He puts up with shame and disgrace for the sake of money.
Even in a mosque he would dare to make a false oath
for the sake of money.[44]
Invasions are undertaken for the sake of money
Guns and cannons are employed for the sake of money....[45]

Injustice in distributing material goods is emphasised in all the poems of this series. The rich have heaps of gold which they spare to satisfy their whims. The poor, who produce values, however have got nothing and they have to sell their labour for next to nothing.

People raise palaces for next to nothing,
People build swimming-pools and fountains for next to nothing,[46]
Gardens are laid out for next to nothing.
A rich person boasts to his friends,
"I can build any palace I like".
And if anyone raises a doubt
He proves his statement by quickly building a palace
Friends, tell me—whose achievement is this!
The boastful man's or that of wealth?[47]

With bitter sarcasm the poet speaks about flatterers and obsequious persons, who are ready to accept any humiliation for the sake of money.

To the one who has heaps of gold in his house,
Flatterers hurry to go hat in hand.
Everyone lines up to pay obeisance to him.
All join to kiss the feet of his slave.[48]

An atmosphere of merceneriness and disgrace prevails in the world of the rich. Gold takes place of love, honour and conscience.

Seeing the one wearing gold ornaments from head to foot
They fall in love with her at first sight
It is her gold but not herself that makes them burn with passion.
No matter whether she is a devil or a witch.[49]

The folk character of Nazir's works also determined the popular character of the artistic means he uses in his poetry. Folklore enters into Nazir's poetry as a component part: popular expressions, proverbs, sayings,—all that shows people's attitude towards wealth.

If a person fills his house with wealth
And then he falls ill, his wealth becomes useless and is less useless than dust.[50]
If one has money, every moment to him is Holi, Diwali and Basant.[51]
If one has money he can embrace gods,
But if he does not have money he is frightened of every spider's web.[52]
When one has money, people call him Lala, Bhaiji and Choudhar.
But without money even a Sahukar (Money lender) will appear
to be a thief.[53]
If one has money grief may turn into spring
But without money a wedding may look like sorrow.[54]
Person with money lives like a Shah
The one without money sleeps on bare ground
With money you are always a pious man.[55]

The theme of social inequality has been posed in a particularly sharp manner in Nazir's poems which could be combined under a common heading "Daily bread", "Roti ki filosafi" ("Reflections on Bread"), "Ate-dal ki filosafi" ("Reflections on Flour and Pulses"), "Pet ki filosafi" ("Philosophy of Stomach") etc. Therein we find a clear condemnation of the social system, which dooms a majority of the population to starvation and permits a small group of the rich to have everything that they desire.

A poor man passes his life in an endless struggle for a piece of bread. All his strength is directed to make his family's and his own living. If he is succeeds he is happy, other joys are beyond his reach.

Night and day the poor is tormented by the thought of daily bread....
The hungry has no love for God in his heart
The hungry cannot think of prayer....
If a poor is asked "why the God created the Moon and the Sun"
The poor replies : "There is no Moon or Sun for us without bread"
For the poor they both look like *Roti*.[56]

The beauty of the world around is able to touch a person only if he is not hungry.

The fire that is smouldering in the hearth
Is dearer to us then the sacred fire
Such a fire gives us food....
Only when a poor man has food
Can he notice the world around him.
Only then he distinguishes day from night
And the Sun from the Moon.[57]

The poems of this series also suggest wider generalisation. Anxiety about daily bread which is, finally, striving of the society to provide itself with necessary means of existence, stimulates, to Nazir's mind, the progress of humanity and determines, in particular, the development of business and trade

All profession all business and trade,
Are learned for the sake of daily bread.[58]

For the sake of "earthly" affairs, connected with day to day life, but neither for the sake of life to come nor for the sake of love towards God, people behave in a good or bad way.

Man resorts to cunning and deceit for the sake of daily bread
Court poet pours over a laudatory Qaseeda for the sake of bread....[59]
A hunter sets his nets for the sake of bread,
A robber kills his victim for the sake of bread,
Pick-pocket cleans your pocket for the sake of bread,
No one goes to his job for the sake of God.[60]

Even the Lord's servant is guided in life by considerations which are far from being religious :

When Mullah reads Koran for a dead
He does not care whether the dead is going to heaven or hell
While reading Koran he thinks only of Halva and bread
That his stomach will get after the funeral repast.[61]

What we have said above, does not at all mean that the poet had a consistent system of views on the problems of social development. Still less can we suppose, that he had some programme of radical reorganisation of society. But clearly expressed interest of Nazir to social problems testifies once again to the fact that his poems were profoundly of folk character.

Again and again would he return to these problems. He raises them in such works as "Iflas" ("Poverty") and "Shehr-e-ashob" ("Amazed Town"). The poet shows with great force that poverty humiliates a person, that it compels him to forget his dignity. Now and then it makes him commit amoral deeds and even crimes.

When poverty falls on a person
It torments and tortures him in every way possible
It gnaws him for the whole day
In the night he gets asleep hungry

Only those known of his misfortune, who have gone
through the experience of poverty

Those, who are called scholars, scientists, luminaries of wisdom
When become poor forget the first Sura of Koran.

When they are asked about "Alif" - (the first letter of alphabet)
- they answer "Be".

Let a poor be Christ himself, he will not get any respect

Even on a holiday rich and poor are not equal :
To a poor a roti is thrown while a rich gets a gift of five rotis.
And if the poor asks for more he gets abuses.
Ah, friends, what more should be said about destination and poverty ?
Always and everywhere poverty takes away respect from the poor.

A poor man cannot think of his self respect
Sometimes he has to sacrifice his life for a piece of bread

Now and then he bends before the one who gives him bread
Poverty also plays off one poor against the other
Like dogs who can squabble at a piece of bone

They call a poor when they do not want to do dirty job,
and he works for a piece of bread.

A poor does not know virtuousness, he is not aware of sin
Shame and conscience, dishonour and honour are reduced to ashes by
poverty.

The poor dies, he is buried without shroud by poverty
And poverty floats down a river his corpse . . . .
In the hovel of the poor there is nothing : neither ornaments for his wife,
No dresses for father and children, - all is long ago taken to the
moneylender
And marriage for a poor is no joy, it is woe :
What sort of a bridegroom is a poor man's son ? - he is a disgrace to his
father

No matter what a person is like, if he is poor
Everyone is waiting for an opportunity to call him a donkey,
The poor is dressed in rags, is uncombed
Face dried up, dirt on his body, his teeth are yellow
Thus poverty ranks a poor among convicts

Poverty ruins poor by hard labour
Poverty forces a poor to steal
Poverty compels a poor to beg alms . . . .
Poverty makes his daughter go to the street on a black day.
Poverty sells beauty for a penny.[62]

The reader is brought to the idea that the society, which has driven itself to the situation described cannot be considered just. In the poem the idea has

not been formulated as the necessity of changing the existing order, but a protest has been clearly expressed against oppression of man by man.

The same idea also has been developed in the poem entitled "Amazed Town".

Hard labour does not give a penny to the poor,
How long can a poor live by borrowing ?[63]

Often Nazir has turned to the subjects connected with his favourite Agra, he described its beauty and its monuments. But the poem cited below has been produced in altogether different key. We can see here a picture realistically drawn, of social and public life of Agra during the period of economic stagnation.

Joblessness could show only one thing - poverty
On the hovels of the poor there are no roofs - poverty covers the hovels
In every corner poverty is hiding
To cover his roof with thatch the poor goes to a money-lender
Everyone in Agra these days is ruined
No one knows how he will live further
Although they know thousands of arts and crafts

Dust settles in bazar while shopkeepers sit in their empty shops
As though thieves lined up in prison.[64]

He narrates about the handicrafts and craftsmen being ruined. Bakers do not bake bread, tailors do not make dress, goldsmiths have no job, manufactures stopped producing silk and their spinning wheels are at a standstill. The poet is not aware of the cause of this misfortune that has descended on the town and he appeals to the Lord :

Day and night I have just one prayer :
Let again the sun shine on the people of Agra
Let every one eat and drink in his own house,
Show, O, Lord, your kind heart to the ruined town,
Enliven crafts and trade for the residents of Agra again[65]

What strikes most in this poem is the fact that the picture reproduced here is a genuine one. The elements of realism are observed in many of Nazir's poems as well as of some predecessors of the poet. But in the "Amazed Town" and in the poems of the later period truthful reflection of the reality is of a more finished form, becomes a creative method of the poet. Though realism as a literary trend in Urdu poetry finally was adopted at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century we may nevertheless say that the first serious steps in assimilating it have been taken by Nazir. Nazir's realism is the realism of folk poetic creation and its source must be sought in its deep bonds with people's life.

The fact that Nazir was very close to the people put its imprint on his world outlook as well as on his works. However he did not remain free from other influences either. Different authors depict the poet sometimes as a follower of Sufi order of Chishti, but sometimes as a supporter of Bhakti and Sikhism. Certain scholars are even inclined to consider him to be a purely suffist poet. Undoubtedly, this doctrine had a great influence on formation of Nazir's world-outlook and found its reflection in his poetry. This probably can explain the motives of humility and submission, or the idea of futility of

earthly strivings, that we come across in his poems. However, it is rather the social protest and opposition to orthodox Islam that attracted Nazir to Sufism.

In Nazir's works we find the ideas of Sikhism, Hinduism and particularly of Bhakti with its preaching equality of all people and with its appeal to spiritual unity of the Indian society. Hence his poems are equally close to Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs as well as to adherents of Bhakti and Sufism.

Nazir Akbarabadi's religious and philosphical views testified to his critical attitude to feudalism. It is not by chance that many critics regard him as Kabir's follower, the Indian religious reformer and poet. There is actually a lot in common in their writings, and above all it is their indissoluble bond with the people and the desire to show their life truthfully that brings them close. Despite all the contradictions in Nazir's world-outlook we must not fail to note the main thing that constitutes the essence of his poetry and makes us give him a special place in the medieval Urdu literature. This is his humanism, his love of freedom and devotion to high moral ideals, his faith in the ultimate triumph of reason and justice.

Mir Taqi Mir once said : "In this sinking world do not think of creation." Nazir Akbarabadi cannot agree with his teacher, he is convinced that humanity will build up a beautiful future :

The present age is not the "Kaliyug"
The present age is the "Karyug".[66]

This very conviction enabled Nazir Akbarabadi to "discover" the Man with capital "M", to see even in the slaves, contemporary to him, the crown of creation and to produce a hymn to Man. The poet sang him in the poem "Admi-nama" ("A Poem about Man")

The king of this world is Man
Poor and the beggar is Man
Rich and the poor are equally Men
He, who lives in splendour is Man
And he who begs for crumbs is also Man.

In this world Man gives his life for (another) Man
And Man unsheathes his sword to kill (another) Man.
Black and white are equally Men

To the best of people there is one name - Man,
And the worst of people would I call - Man.
Rich and poor are equally Men . . . .
He who sleeps, sinking in flowers is Man
And he, who lies in the dust is Man . . . .
Badshah and Vazir are Men,
Cooly and slave are Men.[67]

Nazir's fate in many respects reminds us of the fates of a majority of folk talents, living in the epoch of feudalism. The poet could not get recognition from his contemporaries, his name was banished from the literature almost for a whole century. But the truth of Nazir's poetry paved a way to the hearts of the people of India.[68]

The poems of the folk poet brought to the present times noble humanism of their author, protest against any kind of oppression, love to the mother

country and the people. And like one of his works which is entitled "A Poem about Man", his entire poetry should be called "A Book about Man".

NOTES

1 "Kulliyat-e-Nazir"
2 ib p. 6
3 "Nigar", p. 21
4 See "Kulliat-e-N" p. 11
5 "Naye Zaviye" p. 180
6 "Kulliyat-e-N" p. 673
7 ,, p. 656 (657)
8 "Nigar" p. 96
9 "Kulliyat-e-N" p. 284-286
10 ,, p. 20
11 ., p. 17
12 Poetical form borrowed from Persian poetry. It consists of unrestricted number of six-lined stanza, connected by unity of sense.
13 "Nigar" p. 7
14 "Kulliyat-e-N" p. 64
15 ,, p. 52
16 "Nigar" p. 30
17 Nazir is the first Urdu poet who gave name to ghazals. This was but logical, after the poetry obtained unified content.
18 "Nigar" p. 120
19 "Kulliat-e-N". p. 575-576
20 ,, p. 573
21 The month and the year is given according to Muslim era Hijri—the date year mentioned here corresponds to 1803 A.D.
22 "Nigar" p. 121-122
23 ,, p. 13
24 "Kulliat-e-N" p. 776
25 ,, p. 737
26 ,, p. 425
27 ,, p. 441
28 "Nigar" p. 108
29 ,, p. 20
30 "Kulliat-e-N" p. 418
31 "Nigar" p. 2

32 "Kulliyat-e-N" p. 442
33 ,, p. 650
34 ,, p. 552
35 Charpai is wooden cot with string netting
36 "Kulliyat-e-N" p. 553
37 ,,
38 ,,
39 ,, p. 554-555
40 ,,
41 ,, p. 680
42 Paisa & cauri—small Indian coins
43 "Kulliyat-e-N" p. 656
44 ,, p. 644
45 ,, p. 656
46 ,, p. 645
47 ,, p. 647
48 ,, p .655
49 ,,
50 ,, p. 675
51 ,, p. 648
52 ,, p. 649
53 ,, p. 643
54 ,, p. 643
55 ,, p. 669
56 ,, p. 667-669
57 ,, p. 669
58 ,,
59 ,, p. 673
60 ,, p. 672
61 ,, p. 673
62 ,, p. 659-661
63 ,, p. 468
64 ,, p. 465
65 ,, p. 468
66 "Nigar" p. 25
67 "Kulliyat-e-N" p. 683-684
68 See, for instance, article of Begum Anis Kidwai, published in India and entitled "About Nazir's poetry".

ENLIGHTENMENT IN MAHARASHTRA

V. K. Lamshukov

In 1818 Poona, the capital of the once mighty Maratha power, fell and British rule was finally established in Maharashtra.

Loss of independence was a great shock for Maharashtrian society, affecting all spheres of its life. At the same time the establishement of foreign rule signified a new landmark in social, economic, political and spiritual life of the society. Consolidation of British power marked the drawing of Maharashtra, like the other parts of India, into the sphere of capitalistic social and economic relationship, the ground for which was already prepared within the confines of Maharashtrian society even before arrival of the English. A single Maratha state with centralized power existing almost for two centuries facilitated emergence of unity and consolidation of Maharashtrians into a nation. Excellently organized trade, shipbuilding, and manufacturing enterprises came into being on the territory of Maharashtra due to the very needs of the state. All this indicated new social and economic advances, though feeble, in Maharashtrian society.

The establishment of the rule of such a mighty world capitalist power as Britain, gave a new push to the spontaneous process of capitalist growth in Maharashtrian society. It is indisputable that this process took place by a complex tortuous path, on account of the all-powerful colonial oppression and stability of the feudal relations, in a certain measure artificially sustained by the colonials rulers. This could not but have an effect on the rate of development of capitalism and national consciousness of the people. But the growth of national self-consciousness of Maharashtrians, due to the special features of their historical development, all the same proceeded at a considerably faster rate as compared with other peoples of India.

This feature of the development of Maharashtrian society exerted a profound influence on all the spheres of the ideological and political life and in some way influenced the character of Maharashtrian Enlightenment. Maharashtrian Enlightenment is highly complex and heterogeneous phenomenon. If one examines it carefully it is possible to distinguish two periods or two stages, each of which is characterised by its own special features. The first stage begins approximately from the forties of the 19th century and lasts up to its last quarter. The second stage extends approximately up to thirties of the 20th century.

The first close acquaintance of Maharashtrians with European culture, with the achievements of the world social thought takes place thanks to the activities of various missionary societies functioning on the territory of Maharashtry as well as in other provinces of India, where British rule had been established earlier.

The event that had a decisive significance as regards its consequences was the setting up of printing presses and book-printing in Marathi. The appearance of the printed word and of the first specimens of translated European literature attracted great attention of the Maharashtrian intelligentsia that was just being born, to the new ideological forms to which they were not accustomed. The inquisitive mind of Maharashtrians also worked in another direction i.e. their creative thought was directed not only towards assimilating the achievements of European culture, but also toward re-examining their own achievements. Something happens without which the appearance of such a decisive stage in their development as enlightenment, was not possible. In a word, there comes a radical break in the consciousness of the people, reassesment of traditional values, and persistent search for new ideals, which would correspond to the new changed conditions. Publication of books in various fields of knowledge helped to improve the language of prose, to set clear and lasting standards of the language, standardization of grammar. Marathi prose emerged not from a void, it was improved on the basis of a vast official and administrative correspondence and scientific, political literature, which had greatly developed in the times of Maratha rule. The most important prerequisite for improvement of Marathi prose was the creative works of numerous bakhar-kars—chroniclers. Without all this the Marathi press could not grow and develop fast.

In proportion to the growth of numbers of Maharashtrian intelligentisa, acquainted with Western culture, the social life of Maharashtra became markedly activised, which was to a considerable degree facilitated by the appearance of the first periodicals in Marathi—the newspaper "Darpan" ("Mirror"—1832) and the journal "Digdarshan" ("Guide"—1837), published by the first Marathi enlightener B. G. Jambhekar (1812—1846). Already in the course of the first decade after the arrival of the British in Maharashtra, there were eight periodicals, while in 1874 their number exceeded twenty. From its very inception the Marathi press carried on an active struggle against the reactionary social forms of feudalism, against customs which were coming in the way of social progress and above all against the breaking up of the society into many separate groups, isolated from each other, against the old family relations which oppressively weighed on the shoulders of Indian women.

In 1850 Dadabhai Naoroji, one of the active workers for Indian Enlightenment, published a book entitled "Conversation with Indian Sahebs". In this book he studies the hard conditions in India, rightlessness of Indians, and puts the question: "How can we explain, that hundred thousand foreign soldiers, hold two hundred million Indians in destitution and rightlessness?" and then answers: "Not a single astrologer can explain this". Maharashtrian intelligentsia found an answer to this question in the existence of feudal stagnation, darkness and ignorance of their countrymen and therefore they directed all their efforts to the fight against these phenomena.

While examining the activities of the Maharashtrian enlighteners of the early period, it is necessary to note that it was characterised, in the first place, by antifeudal tendency, in other words it does not go for the time being beyond the confines of the social, economic and cultural problems. This was the time when Maharashtra gathered strength and capacity within a short time to resolutely and openly speak about the most important historic task which the entire Indian nation had to carry out, namely, the necessity to liberate themself from the colonial dependence.

At their first stage the Maharashtrian enlighteners were represented by a galaxy of brilliant journalists, scholars and social workers, among whom Bal Shastri Jambhekar (1812—1846), Vishnu Shastry Pandit (1827—1876), Bhau Mahajan (1815—1890), Vishnubuva Brahmachari (1825—1871), Jyotiba Phule (1827—1890), Lokahitavadi (Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh—1823—1892), occupy the place of honour.

In the pages of such periodicals as "Darpan", "Digdarshan", "Prabhakar" ("Sun"—1840), "Marathi gnyanprasarak" ("Marathi Enlightner"—1850) and others Marathi enlighteners exposed the defects of the society contemporary to them, calling upon the people to liquidate illiteracy, among women in particular, to grant them the right to remarry, to ban child-marriages, to liquidate the institution of untouchability and caste exclusiveness. Referring to untouchability, Lokahitavadi wrote : "..Brahmans shun Mahars ("untouchables"), but it is strange that they are not offended by the British society. If one has principles on the question of traditional morality, the society of Mahars is more preferable than that of a person of another religion". Many thought that caste prejudice was the principal evil, with which the society must resolutely fight. "The Indian society was subjected to great calamities, and the institution of caste must be considered its cause. It is so zealously preserved by brahmans" wrote T. T. Padval (1836—1898) in his article "Concerning caste prejudices" (1881).

A lot of strength and energy was spent in the fight against caste prejudices by Jyotiha Phule, the outstanding enlightener of Maharashtra. Apart from numerous writings in the periodicals devoted to this question, he took a number of practical steps to eradicate feudal prejudices. Thus, he founded in Poona a school for the lower caste children, the so called "untouchables". It was he who organized the "Satya Shodhak samaj" ("Truth-seekers society") which did a lot of work in spreading education among women. In such of his writings as "Gulamgiri" ("Slavery", 1873), "Brahmananche Kasəb" ("Brahmanas' skill", 1869) Phule lays the principal guilt for degradation of Maharashtrian society on the privileged caste, resulting finally in the loss of independence, and showed bankruptcy of their claim to exclusiveness.

Lokahitawadi sharply and mercilessly ridiculed the laws and standards of morality, behind which feudal reaction took shelter. "...in any society undoubtedly there is some sort of division corresponding to our conception of castes, but the point is that there (in the west), if a representative of higher social strata is a fool, he takes up a job and if an intelligent fellow happens to be son of an artisan, he becomes a scholar... formerly even in our country, it was just like this, for instance, *Ravana* was son a of a brahmana, but he became an evil-doer, because he was depraved by nature". Speaking about the conditions of women in the society, he wrote : "If our laws and customs prohibit widow remarriage, is it not time to discard these laws ?" Vishnu Shastry Pandit wrote in 1864 regarding the barbarous customs in family relations : "Is it wise at the present time to stick to those silly customs, which were devised at the time when we were savages ?"

Speaking about the first stage of Maharashtrian Enlightenment, it must be noted that precisely at that time those prerequisites took shape which prepared the ground for the wide social and political activity of the second generation of enlighteners when the national liberation movement called upon to play an important role in cultural, administrative and industrial spheres, came into

objective, irreconcilable conflict with the colonial regime. Indian bourgeoisie needed greater economic and political freedom, greater scope for capitalist development.

In their writings in the pages of the periodicals, such enlighteners, as Vishnubuva Brahmachari, Lokahitavadi and Phule defended the interests of national economy of independent capitalist development and interests of national bourgeoisie. In an extensive article, devoted to economic conditions of the country, Lokahitavadi called upon his countrymen, upon those who had the means for this, to create their own industry and not to rely on the British: he was distressed by the fact that household articles, clothes etc. were bought by Indians from British traders instead of thmselves producing them. By buying articles from the English, he affirms, Indians allow themselves to be robbed, because their money is transferred from India to England.

One more important point must be noted in the Enlightenment of the first period, i.e. concerning religion. In general for the entire Maharashtrian Enlightenment religion did not play any important role as in other regions of India, for instance, in Bengal, where the religious-reformist character was inherent in the liberal trend and the ideology of nationalism was painted in a mystical shades. Here the religion played a role only to the extent of protesting against the unbridled campaign and against the religion generally in journals and news papers of missionary societies which offended their national sentiments. Formally it seemed to be the desire to resist the propaganda of Christianity, but actually religion objectively came out as a form of protest against colonial domination.

Enlightenment during the last quarter of the 19th century underwent important changes. It outgrew the narrow bound of social and cutural interests and acquired clearly expressed anti-colonial character, however, without losing its antifeudal features.

From the last quarter of the 19th century the socio-political situation in the country gravely deteriorated, political reaction and police terror intensified, discontent grew among peasants and artisans as a result of ever-increasing capitalist exploitation and colonial oppression. This called for the creation of an organized national liberation movement, which in Maharashtra for the first time found its manifestation in the peasant uprising of 1879 under the leadership of Vasudeo Balvant Phadke (1845—1883). We can say with confidence that it is precisely this action of the peasantry which ideologically heated the atmosphere, lent new direction to the entire Maharashtrian Enlightenment, painted it in loud political tones. It produced a deep impression on the advanced Maharashtrian intelligentsia, from among whom was forged the new generation of enlighteners, such as Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar (1850—1882), Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856—1920), Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856—1896), Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe (1864—1929) and others. Brilliant journalists, true patriots of their motherland, these enlighteners took up and developed further ideas of the first Maharashtrian enlighteners. With all ther passion and energy they dedicate themselves to the talk of enlightening people, to the awakening of national pride of Maharashtrians.

A talented journalist, literary critic and a great social worker, who exercised tremendous influence on the entire subsequent generation of the progressive intelligentsia, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, speaking of the necessity of educating

genuine patriots of the country, wrote in one of his essays: "If the teachers would instil in the minds of their pupils genuine respect for knowlege... the pupils undoubtedly would be transformed into reliable and indomitable patriots. This way the teachers and taught would make their names immortal in our country".

Chiplunkar exercised a beneficial influence on a generation of enlighteners of Maharashtra. In "Nibandhamala" ("Garland of essays"), a journal published by him, Chiplunkar called on the people to wake them up from their slumber and torpor, to regain the pride as Indians, instead of becoming enraptured with the West and showing scornful attitude to everything national. The emotional metaphoric style of his sketches and essays on a variety of themes had a tremendous effect on the formation of the contemporary Marathi prose. His influence on literature was so great, that a majority of Indian historians of literature consider the date of publication of his "Nibandhamala", 1874, as the starting point of the present-day Marathi literature.

The most notable figure of the Maharashtrian and the entire Indian history of that time was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, outstanding leader of national-liberation movement, scholar and thinker. Tilak's life is indissolubly bound up with the period of the whole Indian history from the seventies of the 19th century up to the end of the second decade of the 20th century. He was at the head of the democratic intelligentsia, under his influence took shape the radical political thought of Maharashtra and the whole of India combining extensive enlightening work with propagandist political activity, directed against the colonial regime, Tilak sought the means and methods of drawing the broad masses of the people into the struggle. At the same time Tilak conducted an irreconcilable principled fight against representatives of moderate nationalism in Maharashtra whose demands were paltry social reforms within the framework of the British Empire. Democratic intelligentsia headed by Tilak stood for an independent bourgeois development of the country and fought for the preservation of great traditions of thousands-years old culture of India. Advocating a broad programme of ideological and political unity of the whole country, Tilak with the assistance of persons agreeing with his views took a number of important steps, which had far-reaching consequences not only in the sphere of social-political, but also of the literary life of Maharashtra. Under the leadership of V. Chiplunkar, with a support of eminent social workers like L. Tilak, G. Agarkar and others a middle school namely "New English School" was started in 1880. It was free from the evil effects of the official system of education. During the following year takes place the founding of a printing press and starting of two weeklies "Mahratta" in English and "Kesari" ("Lion") in Marathi, which became powerful means of propaganda of the idea of national liberation. With the active participation of Tilak other steps also were taken: "Deccan Education Society" was founded and a higher educational isntitute, Ferguson College, was started.

The most important point in Tilak's activities and of all those who held identical views with him was the appeal to the historical consciousness of Maharashtrians. People had preserved the memory of the past glory of Maharashtra, of the valour of the Maratha warriors-peasants, who rose up under the leadership of the great leader Shivaji, in defence of their motherland and brought into being a vast state on a major portion of the Indian territory. Maharashtrian patriotism of the Maharashtrian enlighteners found its acme in the idea of exal-

ting Shivaji, whose personality greatly influenced the literature not only of Maharashtra, but also of other peoples of India. "The national-liberation war of Maharashtrians, under the leadership of Shivaji and the very personality of Shivaji gave rise to a vast historical literature in Bengal", wrote R. K. Dasgupta in "Hindustan Times" (I.VII.62). Beginning from 1895 a festival in honour of Shivaji was organized every June in Poona, the historical and cultural centre of Maharashtra, on the initiative of Tilak. On the 12th of June, 1897, on the day of the recurrent holiday a poem by an unknown author under the title "Shivaji's dictum" appeared in Tilak's "Kesari". The author of the poem in an emotional form, using the traditional grandiloquent style appealed to the people's memory: "I have implanted on the earth highest valours, love for motherland, genuine fearlessness and best of the virtues—unity. Now you may want to show me sweet fruits of this crop. Alas, I can see by myself the ruin of my country, strongholds raised by me have been destroyed. Foreigners entice away the goddess Lakshmi, and together with her disappear wealth and health. Misfortune, hunger, ruthless death stark all over the country... Great falsehood rules in court rooms of the white men. ... And could men in time of yore cast an unseemly glance at a woman? Thousands of sharp swords would have been pulled out of sheath in vengence. O cunachs, how can you stand this shame?" Turning to Englishmen Shivaji says: Is it possible that you have forgotten your former role, when with scales in your hand you sold goods in commercial stalls? At that time I could turn you out, but a Hindu by nature is magnanimous and I protected you. So, you should remember that you are ever indebted to us". This poem gives us an idea of the character of the progressive press in Maharashtra. It eloquently testifies to the radical views of a leader of the Marathi journalism, to its civil courage.

But the matter is that it is not Tilak's activities as a whole that can be refered to the Enlightenment. It is important to mention here that since the period of the nineties he opposed the ideology of Enlightenment, represented by G. Agarkar, G. Gokhale and M. Ranade.

G. Agarkar was the one among the enlighteners of Maharashtra who took close to his heart the call made by V. Chiplunkar to study the experience of Western culture and science. With great enthusiasm Agarkar criticised the rule of old laws, customs and notions. However, while advocating for the European methods of organising a society, European social and moral institutes Agarkar was still far from admiring the West-the thing he was accused of so often. In a brilliant way did Agarkar show his liberalism and rationalism in solving social and moral problems. He was especially persistent in struggling for the abolition of the castes and for women's rights. We consider him to be the first to speak out some ideas of socialism.

Although Agarkar and Tilak started their public activities as like-minded people they could not agree on the question, along which way India should go. Agarkar who was under a great influence of the Western bourgeois liberalism, H. Spencer's and I. Mille's philosophic and social views, could not believe in a near overthrowing of the British rule.

To a certain degree the correlation of social foreces in Maharashtra of that time was like the Russian "Slavophilism" and "Occidentophilism". There is just one difference—i.e. the colonial yoke in India. This very difference made so called "objective" history share its sympathy otherwise: traditionalist

Tilak was prefered to "occidentophilist" Agarkar. As far as the Marathi literature of Enlightenment was concerned the influence of Agarkar's ideas is most appreciable here,

Thus the Maharashtrian Enlightenment like the Enlightenment in general was directed to the tasks of liquidation of feudalism, its social and economic norms, its ideology and culture. Simultaneously the specific character of the Maharashtrian (Indian) Enlightenment was that the necessity of struggling against the colonial yoke distracted national forces away from the tasks of the Enlightenment itself. But only thanks to the Enlightenment the mentioned struggle became possible in the country, for it stimulated the development of national self-consciousness. And even in the first period the "purely" enlightening activity of Jambhekar, Lokahitavadi, Phule was understood after all as patriotic fight, a fight directed against foreign rule, though by peaceful means only.

It was noted very correctly by the British historian Bush that the character of the activity of the Indian patriots of that time, as well as the specific features of their teachings, according to which "the religious freedom had to develop into social freedom, and the social into political and economic . . . But the essence of the movement always remained the same, that is the fight for Swaraj, the fight for freedom". This has been confirmed by the preamble to the fomous "Vernacular Press Act" of 1878 : "There are many papers . . . spreading antagonism between the ruling nation and the people of the country. Their principal theme is: Injustice and tyranny of the British Empire . . ."

An important feature of Indian Enlightenment as contrasted to the European one is the fact that it is less speculative and more closely connected with practical work : in India, particularly in Maharashtra, numerous cultural-enlightening societies, social reformers' and political organizations, orphanages, schools for children of lower castes, women widow homes etc. were founded. The starting of New English School and Ferguson College in Poona with Tilak, Agarkar, Kelkar etc. teaching there what now would be called their social principles, was a phenomenon almost unprecedented for that time and a proof of high level of civil consciousness of the Maharashtrian enlighteners.

While speaking of the specific features of Maharashtrian (Indian) Enlightenment, one must never forget the tremendous role the European civilization played in the course of its origin. Maharashtrian Enlightenment in itself was a flame, which was lit by sparks struck from contacts with the West. It is true that for these contacts the Indian people paid too high a price, namely—their freedom. But it is also true that any contacts would have been powerless if the *necessary and compulsory conditions had not developed for the emergence of Enlightenment in India itself.* And in so far as these conditions existed, the contacts directed the attention of the Indian enlighteners to the experience of the Western countries in their fight against feudalism. Indian enlighteners like the enlighteners of the West were, using Lenin's expression, "Vozhaki burzhuazii" ("leaders of bourgeoisie"). They "quite sincerely believed in universal well-being and sincerely desired it, they sincerely did not see (partly could not yet see) the contradiction in the system, which was growing out of serfdom". All their best aspirations they connected with bourgeois world order, their illusions in many respects were fed by the absence of any capitalist relationships in India.

Formation of the new Marathi literature takes place during the second half of the 19th century.

New features of literature began to stand out already during fifties and sixties. Thus the first novels in Marathi "Wanderings of Yamuna" ("Yamuna-paryatan", 1857), by B. Padmanji (1831—1906), "Muktamala (1861), and "Ratnaprabha" (1866) by L. M. Halbe (1831—1905) show the signs of influence of the enlightening ideas. All the three novels are devoted to one of the most important problems in the programme of enlighteners—the problem of emancipation of Indian women. The historical theme, the subject of glorification of national history finds its expression in the tragedy by V. J. Kritane (1840—1891)—"Death of Madhav Rao" (1861), in the novel by R. B. Gunjikar (1843—1901) "Storming of Stronghold" ("Mochangad", 1871), and in the unfinished poem "Raja Shivaji" (1869) by M. M. Kunte (1835—1888). However, the three decades (fifties, to seventies) were primarily devoted to a study of the Western experience in the field of arts, in quest for new forms, as well as to the reappraisal of the traditional aesthetic forms.

The character of the Enlightenment was determined also by the features of Marathi literature. The Enlightenment sought to solve the social, economic, cultural as well as political questions— that is, it fought against feudal basis and against colonial slavery. This found its manifestation in the criticism of phenomena of social life itself and in the propaganda of the heroic past of the people. If all these problems have been solved earlier primarily by means of press, of journalism, starting with the last quarter of the century, from 1885 on literature (mainly, fiction) played a tremendous role. The role the press played in the formation of literature is especially great. It is not that it just prepared lexico-grammatical base for literature, but it also implanted in it a taste for contemporary problems, for phenomena of the surrounding reality, for the material connected with everyday life, for documentariness. And to an extent it must be agreed, that Indian press, Marathi in particular, played a considerably important role in—affirming the basis of realism in Indian art at th end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Marathi press, illuminated by the authority of the greatest patriot enlighteners (Chiplunkar, Tilak, Agarkar, Paranjpe) formulated ideological and aesthetic views of Maharashtrian writers, directed their attention to the living reality.

In the formation of the new Marathi literature, the European and especially English literature played a great role. It is not accidental that the patriot-cum-enlightener Chiplunkar said: "To Indians the Englisn literature was like the milk of a tigress". Speaking about the influence of the European literature we must keep it in mind that by the time the Marathi literature was born, various trends such as classicism, sentimentalism, romanticism and realism, have been already formed in Europe. Formation of creativeness of an Indian writer took place under the simultaneous influence of classicist poetry of Racine, Corneille, dramatist Molière, enlightening novels of Fielding and Smollett, sentimental novels of Goldsmith, Stern, romantic poetry of Byron, Shelley, and Hugo, historical novels by W. Scott, realistic novels by Dickens and Thackerey. In addition a writer was influenced in many respects by conventional national literary traditions, norms of national aesthetics. By the force of this we come across a phenomenon typical of almost all the Indian literatures of the period of Enlightenment— the presence of individual characteristics of various creative trends in the works of the same writer. In Europe the literary trends passed through successive stages, while in Russia, for instance, certain trends developed simultaneously, so that they were prone to interpenetrate and blend.

The situation we saw in Russia, takes a completed form In India. Here the trends do not exist as separate and independent. Here the most characteristic features of different creative methods and directions synthesize. This is glaringly manifested in particular in the works of H. N. Apte, the "father" of modern Marathi literature. Thus his novels depicting everyday social life are at the same time akin to enlightening realism (British) and European sentimental novels which are built up according to the principles of rationalistic aesthetics—describing manner, everyday life. Their object was primarily to present broad picture of life, while the sentimental novel was principally devoted to "personal" life of the character and had no broad comprehension of social environment.

In Apte's novels we find blended into one the special features of enlightening realism and sentimentalism. Apte does not limit himself by just investigating the conditions of everyday life and family relations, but he also draws phenomena of social life, depicting reality like a vivid documentary. At the same time Apte pays great attention to the fate of the character, to his personal life and his inner world. The reader is a witness of many his characters growing up and developing as personalities. Here the role of environment is great—it moulds and influences the character in one way or another. But Apte's greatest mastery is revealed when he regards his character from the point of view of his social conditions. A character is not just a person, in general, but a representative of a definite social stratum—in particular—a representative of the so-called middle class. Apte's character is a typical representative of a definite class, functioning in conditions typical of it. He can't function against the background of some accidental conglomeration of phenomena and events.

Somewhat more independent is romanticism. In the eyes of Indian enlighteners the most important place is occupied by anticolonial fight. In this connection a special significance is acquired by the propaganda of the heroic past of the Maharashtrian people and the other peoples of India. This found its reflection in the historical novels and dramas (Apte, Nathmadhav, Khadilkar). Incidentally, liberation trends were natural to German Enlightenment ("Goetz von Berlichingen" by Goethe, "Wilhelm Tell" by Schiller), which were to solve the political task of uniting the country.

The use of history by Apte and other writers was of educative significance: "I wanted to show in this novel the greatness of the fight for freedom, the greatness of the people, fighting for liberation of the motherland. I wanted my book to awaken in my countrymen the pride for their heroic past and inspire them to fight". Thus wrote Apte in his preface to his best historical novel, "Ushahkal". There was another reason for Apte and other writers to use the national history—namely, to dispel the myth about Indian inferiority, about their incapacity to govern their country independently,—the thing that was propagated by colonizers.

The historical theme is dealth with in Maharashtra by means of romanticist art. Although one can clearly see realism here (scenes of everyday life, characters of common people and a few important personages loyalty to historical facts), still in such works as "God ala pan simh gela", "Ushahkal" there is more of the romanticist poetics.

Generally speaking interrelations between realism and romanticism in India and in Maharasthra in particular were built up on a specific basis, which

greatly differed from that in the West. Apart from social and moral problems here existed problems of political nature, conditioned by the presence of colonial regime in the country. The writers criticizing social basis of the contemporary society at the same time consciously pointed to their own political ideal from the national history. They tried to combine the critical analysis of everyday life with pathetic romanticist tale about the heroic past. Realism and romanticism are two equally powerful means of influencing the reality: on the one hand, the capacity of writer scrupulously and critically to throw light on the phenomena of surrounding life evokes among the contemporaries a feeling of protest against the existing social reality, and on the other hand romantistically reproduced past awakens feeling of pride and of national dignity and adds strength in the fight.

Realism and romanticism do not grow in the fight with one another, as a counterbalance, or as shift succession, but in interaction at one and the same time. That is why any attempt to present the matter in such a way that realism in Oriental literatures developed after romaniticism and in the fight against romanticism, results in banal reduction of the history of Oriental literatures to the history of European literatures, to forgetting the specific literature of the Orient, developing under different historical conditions and in different periods.

Romanticism in Western European literatures arose as a reaction against bourgeois activity, and hence it came out against bourgeois rationalistic ideology of enlighteners. Backwardness, the embryonic stage of the forms of capitalism in India, did not give an opportunity to romanticists to realise fully the ugly forms of the new order and they connected their illusions precisely with this coming order, more democratic, more humane that feudal. The essential feature of romanticism, namely discord between the reality and the ideal has been retained,—otherwise we could not speak about romanticism. Romanticism in the West matured on a bourgeois social soil, but rose up against bourgeois world order, where omnipotence of mercantile interests of industrialism was present, in the name of which moral values were trampled upon. Hence Western romanticism was often inclined to cloak feudal past with idyllic veil.

In India the feudalism was not a distant and vaguely distinguishable past, but a cruel, deadening and absurd present. And here was hidden the most difficult thing for an Indian writer—preacher and exponent of new ideas. He had to teach his countrymen courage to fight the oppressor, and here as well as in the past of his people he could not exhaust his strength. Through history he has been teaching love for freedom, irreconcilability with slavery. And as an artist he idealized, romanticized the heroes of the past, and their deeds. But simultaneously he had also to fight against pitiful legacy of this past—against social stagnation, darkness and ignorance, servile position of women, casteism etc. etc. And here he could not but see, what the bourgeois social structure brought with it. From this, from the coming order he drew out his ideal. Although this new structure did not justify the hopes placed on it, it was more progressive than the previous one. Hence in the works of these writers we can see romantic heroes like of Bhavanand, Ganpatrao, Yashvantrao who reject the ugly reality. The revolt of these heroes is not spontaneous, it is strictly directed towards a certain objective, called to realize the programme of Enlightenment.

Thus the history of the Indian literature shows us that romanticism must not be connected with any particular single social system, it is not necessarily anti-bourgeois, or just not only anti-bourgeois. In a certain historical situation, it may organically enter the ideologically aesthetical system of Enlightenment. Undisputably it arose in the West in conditions of bourgeois society as a protest against the bourgeois world order, but in India, and in Maharashtra in particular, the militant charge of romanticism was utilized in patriotic propaganda of enlighteners.

Enlightenment as an active transforming movement, and especially when it joins the national liberation movement cannot but utilise such a mighty active art as romanticism, in the aesthetic nature of which a central place is occupied by such conceptions as a positive ideal and a positive hero. In the conditions of struggle against colonial domination of the British, the striving of the progressive authors of Maharashtra to cultivate among their contemporaries a feelings of patriotism and national pride on the basis of the national history presumed conscious depiction of the past in idealized and hero-ized form, which was successfully done by means of romanticism. This circumstance compels us to ponder over, why in Indian literature romanticism held its positions fast right upto the forties of XX century, that is upto the time when India achieved its independence.

The national liberation struggle of Indian people fed romanticism. The needs of the struggle demanded bright concrete colours in art, quality of pathos which was always typical of art in the time of revolutionary struggle. The vitality of mythology with its colourful romantic images and subjects in Indian literature, was conditioned not by conservatism, not by a propensity for mysticism, but by a strong desire to use it as an effective form of agitational art in the conditions of strict colonial censorship. Speaking of longevity of romanticist art in India, particularly in Maharashtra, it is necessary to bear in mind another thing too. Aesthetic appeal of romanticism was close to the spiritual make-up of the Maharashtrians, who were influenced by the literature of the past : heroic-cum-mythological poems of late medieval period, patriotic lyric poetry of shahirs, heroic-cum-historical tales of bakharkars with their system of floweriness and structure of the poetical language, to a considerable degree conditioned the vitality of the romanticist tendency in Marathi literature.

We have taken here the works of Apte, as a peak of Enlightenment literature of Maharashtra. With the same Enlightenment ideas the works of the founders of modern poetry have been saturated. It concerns as well the works by Keshavsut, such dramatists as Deval, Gadkari etc. As in the genre of novels, in every kind of literature, one finds peculiarly synthetized features of various literary trends. In one instance you will find the features of romanticism (in poetry) in another the features of classicism (as, for example, in drama).

But generally speaking the Marathi Enlightenment literature has four-fold characteristics : active rejection of the existing reality, which is expressed in merciless criticism of everything old; strongly expressed active, effective source (almost in any production, as a rule, figures a person of new views, patriot, preacher of progress as a principal hero). The literature of Enlightenment fights for upbringing of a new man harmoniously combining within himself human qualities, responsible for the fate of his people, his motherland. Hence its biased nature.

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MELODY OF JOY AND SORROW*

N. I. Prigarina

The period 1905-1907 when Muhammad Iqbal stayed in Europe was the time of his intensive spiritual growth and maturing of civic conciousness.

These were happy years of deep content, years of cognition and mental liberation and emotional life. We may say that many poems of this period were both in subject and in form a continuation of his early poetry.

> All my subjects are old, my speech is full of mistakes,
> If some one considers me to be a skilfull
> Poet it is just due to oversight of my critics.

Indeed, such poems as "Essence of Beauty", "Morning star", "Man", "Love" and certain others could have been written before Iqbal visited Europe.

What is new about Iqbal's poetry of this period is his intimate lyrics, constituting a certain series. As for his love-poetry written before, we can not trace any personal approach or a genuine dramatic experience where anything else but an ordinary usage of Sufi phraseology could be seen. It is practically impossible to differentiate in such poems whether they are addressed to an earthly beloved or to a mystic one.

But love-poetry written in Europe does not permit us even to suppose any irreality of feelings. The poems look as if they burst out from the dpeth of poet's heart. The poet discovers his "fulcrum" and "blissful halt of a tired carvan". These are such poems as "Meeting", "Seeing a Kitten in the Hands of...", "Beauty and Love", and some others written later but included into this series. The ghazals of this period belong here.

In 1909 Iqbal wrote in a letter : "I'd like to publish a collection of ghazals. It will be printed in India, bound in Germany and dedicated to "an Indian girl" (II, 117).

The name of the "Indian girl" mentioned was Atiya Begum Fayzee. She belonged to a famous Tyabjee family, which played a considerable part in the cultural life of the country. At that time the young lady was studying Western philosophy.

In poem "Beauty and Love" Iqbal wrote :

> Just as the silvery ship of Moon,
> Sinks into the stream of morning rays,
> In same way the moon coloured lotus fades away in the
> veil of the moonlight
> Like Kalim's white hand in the dazzling light of Tur
> Like the scent of a bud on the wave of fragrance of a flower bed
> My heart sinks in the sea of my love to you.
> If thou art an assembly I am the crowd that constitutes it,

*From the book "Poetry of Muhammad Iqbal", Moscow 1972

If thou art lightning of beauty I am the flash that enlivens it
If thou art the down my tears are thy dew.
If I am the night of separation, though art the red glow on
the horizon.

In my heart reigns the disorder of thy curly hair
My restlessness is the result of thy picture
Though art the embodiment of perfect beauty, while I am of love

(*Poetry*, p. 121)

In London Indian students were looked after by Miss Beck, a sister of Mr. Beck a well-known principal of MAO College, Aligarh. For many years she was in charge of the "Indian Hostel". She was responsible for receptions, parties and dinners in honour of the high-ranking guests from India. She was a cordial and hospitable person. At one of such receptions, which took place on the 22nd of April, 1907, in honour of Syed Husain Bilgrami, a well-known public figure and publicist of Aligarh, and his wife Mrs. Bilgrami, Iqbal met Atiya Begum. It was he who brought an invitation card to Atiya Fayzee from Miss Beck.

Atiya Begum came accompanied by Sheikh Abdul Qadir who was also in London that time. Iqbal greated the guests by an ode in Persian. Afterwards he admitted that the only thing he was afraid of was that Atiya might not have come (II, 105.)

At once it became clear that the young people had very much in common. They started with arguing on philosophical subjects. The talks about Plato and Nietzsche appeared every time they met. Both of them were the admirers of Hafiz poctry: they recitate and discuss his ghazals endlessly. When the poet left for Germany the young people started corresponding with each other.

Philosophical problems were often touched in their letters and Atiya made several valuable observations of Iqbal's thesis.

Atiya and her brother payed a ten-day visit to Iqbal in Heidelberg accompained by several Indian students. Receptions and sightseeng were organized in her honour.

From Munich Iqbal sent her the poem "Meeting"

O Nightingale : the flower I've been locking for so restlessly
I got at last, thanks to providence:
I was tormented myself and I inflicted it on the inhabitants of the garden
Thine colourful song ashamed me
What was pulsating inside me was mercury and not my heart,
Restless to own up the crime of love
My discontent was well-known among roses
My morning mirrored the darkness of the night
Breath was like a knife for my bloodstained chest
While beneath the silence was hidden the tumult of Judgement Day.
Now there is no longer a disorder in the world of my feelings
My singing is no more a burden to the inhabitants of the garden
I achieved freedom beeing imprisoned.
With the loss of my heart my house was inhabited
My start is shining in the rays of this sun
Thy very dust in the path of this glow puts the moon to shame,

You cast a glance and taught me self-extinction
Glorious be the day when you burnt up my dry twigs. (p. 126.)

When Iqbal started his studies in Heidelberg his professors in Literature, Language and Philosophy happened to be three young women—Senechal Veghast and Schat. That was a shocking start. But their deep knowledge and and erudition helped to overcome his inner resistance.

In Germany the time flew by imperceptibly, the young professors protected their attractive student and were always ready to accompany him in his excursions and rowing. One of such creening strolls to environs of Heidelberg was described in poem "Evening on the bank of river Neckar".

Moonlight has gone out
Leaves don't rustle on the trees
The singers in the valley are quiet,
Green mountains are silent.

Heart, thou too be restful,
Let the sorrows fall asleep in thine embrace (p. 136)

The poem is a Tazmin—a literary borrowing from the "Night song of a wanderer" ("Montain Heights") by Goethe, the mood of quiet peace and mental harmony is conveyed here. Where from has this mood so alien to his previous works, come in Iqbal's poetry ? It looks as if for the first time in many years the poet felt a genuine taste for the life as such. He ceased to consider life to be just a source for meditations and analysis. It is no secret that despite all his inner freedom and disregard of conventionalities Iqbal had to follow the stagnant customs of everyday routine and the outdated rules of the Muslim mode of life in his own country.

He was married in 1393, when he was 20 (this is under the condition that he was born in 1873 !)[1]. His wife Ari-khatun was a kind, gentle and absolutly illitterate women. The marriage was contracted as it was customary among orthodox Muslims, according the will of the parents. Hence neither love nor spiritual intimacy could be taken into account. It was for the first time in Europe that Iqbal realised the importance of mutual closeness and sincere friendship between man and woman. He understood the enriching power of spiritual communication. He could not but give himself to European freedom of feelings with full odour of rich artistic nature. However the question is whether his spirit trained in severe rules of Muslim piety could adopt it. For finally Iqbal responded to all new ideas of the age, exept one-he did not become a champion of woman's emancipation. He could be friends with European women, but as for Muslim ones he sticked to his former opinion that their place was behind "Purdah" or in the woman's part of the house.

In Europe the poet was in a state of perpetual amorousness. He was fond of Atiya Begum, and apart from that he fell in love with many young girls and women, with whom fate brought him together. This was a sort of delusion, and he made fun of himself in his poem "Flighty lover".

For your nature the beauty is like lightning
And is it strange that your love is flighty ?
Your existence depends on the law of change

And do you prostrate at the same door more than once ?
Among beauties you are known as unfaithful
O Vagrant, you are both famous and notorius. (p. 129)

Iqbal undoubtly realised that the life he led complety differed from the requirements of Muslim piety. But instead of full and happy life, the Muslim decorum could offer him a paradise spring of Tasnim that resembles wine, and a cup-bearer who serves everyone according to the degree of his virtues and insiped love of paradise houris. Well, and this can be attained only after death.

Don't tell me that death brings message of mirth and joy
Don't hold the picture of sacred wine before me
Don't try to get away from sufferings by thinking of houris
Don't try to point the picture of houris on the glass of wards
Don't seduce me, o pretty saqi
Don't describe the houris and don't mention the Salsabil[2]
The paradise is a place of peace I don't dispute
But this message of yours is not proper for youth
Alas. How long can youth feed itself on hopes
That is not happiness for which one has to wait
What is the worth of that beauty which has to wait for a perceiving eye
What is happiness if it comes tomorrow ?
The perception of life is a strange thing
'Happiness to-day' is the watch-word of youth

It presents some interest to compare Iqbal's position in these poems with Ghalib's point of view on paradise. O, how often rejected Ghalib the future paradise before God and before himself. It was a cry of his tormented heart. Ghalib loved life with its passions, flights and inevitable falls. He neglected the existance of paradise after man's death, but that didn't mean that he proposed to settle a careless paradise life on the Earth. He considered it necessary for a man to seek paradise in his own heart, create "his own paradise" in his "bleeding soul". That was the only way to find the desired harmony of spirit to Ghalib's mind. Never did his eye stop on earthy joys with hypocritical condemnation. It is just the conviction of their profound sense of their moral value forced him to dispute the orthodox idea of paradise.

Iqbal's poem "Today's joys" does not contain any particular philosophical idea. It is rather a joyous burst of youth, sceptical and credulous. Later on the poet repeatedly dealt with the idea of paradise, and in his poetry it appears as a development and overcoming of Ghalib's ideas.

In this poem we find Iqbal treating the problem in an unusual and "terrestrial" way. It was always emphasized in his previous poems that the comprehension of beauty assumes ecstasy—a certain mystic state of mind, or all-embracing rejection of even "contemplation". But there the poet points that the beauty that demands a "penetrating" i.e. extatic glance to reveal it does not attract his attention.

How great must have been his mental flight and joyous sense of life, succeeding, let it be not for ever, but although to the time being, to change his entire habitual way of thought, to expel from his bosom seditious words : "what is beauty, if it needs a penetrating glance ? What is joy, if it is to come to morrow ?" Against a background of the motive "beauty—glance", typical of

Iqbal's earlier works, these lines show a peculiar mental state of the poet. They testify to the contact with the world which now appeared to be the same revelation as ecstasy used to be before following mystic meditation.

Worshipping the joys which are of importance only for to-day, the poet threatens his own position. Everything that had been the essence of his life, might one day prove to be just a pile of mere conventionalities. Would the poet like this day to come ? Might he fear it ? Usually a man finding himself in such a situation either rushes towards the danger or starts seeking salvation near the altars at which a minute before he was about to burn the objects he had worshipped. The only thing that can help a religious person to avoid temptation in such a moment is intensive piety.

Iqbal always emphasized that being abroad he continued to carry out all the religious prescriptions fervently; at night the "unworthy slave often got up to perform namaz, and sometimes he kept awake for the whole night, finding delight in worshipping Allah". Iqbal could not sleep at night.

Why the loneliness of the night is so sad ?
Are not the stars sitting beside you ?

He seeks escape from unbearable inner tumult. Sometimes he believes he could achieve if by way of harmoneous merging with nature.

These heights of the silent sky
Sleepy Earth and the quiet Universe
The moon, the mountains and dales
The whole nature is a garden
O heart, what is that you are after
The creation itself breathes in unison with you (p. 137)

But neither midnight prayers nor beauty of nature bring peace to the poet's exhausted heart.

I am looking for a corner to hide myself
And here, in the lap of mountains I have hidden myself
Wonderful are the beloved nature of the incoherent songs of brooks
Like the prayer of a baby who has just begun babbling
Quietude of the evening of separation was only a pretext
It was the memory of someone that taught me song
It is the state of my impatient life
I am like a lonely child
Who begins singing in the dark night
And thinks his own sound is coming from others
For nothing do I counsel patience to my heart
Trying as it were to cheat the night of separation (p. 139)

The poet, who even formerly was not satisfied with himself now feels contradictions of his mental state with particular sharpness.

O Iqbal, you are simply a bundle of contradictions
You are the leading light of assembly you are at the same time lonely.
(p. 128.)

Once he told Atiya Begum : "Two persons live within me. One of them is a businesslike, practical and successful individual, and the other is a philosopher, sufi and dreamer" (2, p. 43.)

He is attempting to interpret his inconstancy and perturbedness as quest of Absolute Beauty. Beauty manifests every time in a new way, and the poet always fails in his attempts to put together these separate features into a single whole.

The quest of the whole takes me through the parts
The beauty is boundless, but I nurture the incurable pangs. (p. 130)

Although recognition of numerous manifestations of the whole shows that Iqbal holds on the conception of "testimonarian monism" (Vahdat-ash-shuhud), in the poem "Salima" he emphasies that even a Poet and Sufi sees the world differently. The path of quests of Absolute Beauty is also different for them.

What is perceived by far-seing eyes
In the Sun, in the Moon and in the galaxy of stars
What the Sufi perceived in the dark recess of his heart
What the poet perceived in the nonchallant beauty of nature (p. 127)

The poet as though places here a mark of equality between the beauty of the nature and the spitrirual experience of a person. He does not hide his attachement to the world of beauty. This is a certain deviation from the fundamental motives of the poetry of the preceding period, when the poet seemed to be closer to the introvertive position of Sufi.

This change is reflected even in the most "Sufi's" poems of the European period—Gazels, which he intended to dedicate to Atiya.

His stay in Europe came to an end, "Today's joys"was over and the certain period of his life too. It happened so that Iqbal and Atiya Fayzi could not link their destinies. It is difficult to say for certain, why it was so.

In the poem "The Melody of Sorrow" which he sent to Atiya Begum Fayzee in December 1911 (3,p.55) the poet said farewell to his love.

My life is like a silent Rabab (lute)
Which is overflowing with melody
On whose silence the heavenly music is sacrificed
On whose every string the graveyard of countless melodies
Whose silence is the custodian of the tumult of the day of reckoning
And whose quickness does not seek any bustle
Alas: The hope of love never realised
And this lute has never experienced the touch
But at times from the garden of Tur comes gentle breeze
And from the heavens comes the breath of houris
And gently vibrates the strings of my life
By which the imprisoned soul of life is released
A subdued sound of the song of despondency emanates
And gong is sounded for the march of the caravan of tears
Just as the greatness of dew is its power to disappear
The height of nature is in its songs of sorrow (p. 132)

As Muhammad Uthman points out, the poem "Meeting" and "Melody of Sorrow" show the beginning and the end of the definite part in the life of the poet—an emotional period.

Almost immediately on return from Europe Iqbal wrote to Atiya (April 1909) "My soul is a casket of sorrowful and depressing thoughts. These

thoughts like the snakes crawl out from dark secluded corners of my consiousness. It seems, as though I shall soon become a snake-charmer, and give performances on streets, and crowds of idlers will gather around me".

(Vol. II, 131)

This period of Iqbal's life can be described by his own words.

> Erudition was unable to withstand the force of beauty
> All the scholars of the world proved to be ignorant. (p. 148)

NOTES

[1] And not 1877 as it is considered now.

[2] *Salsabil*—a fountain in the Muslim paradise, mentioned in the *Quran.*

1. All the verses quoted are taken from : Muhammad Iqbal, *Bang-i Dara,* (urdu), 15th ed., Lahore, 1953.
2. *Iqbal-namah ya'ni majmu'a — i mukatibat-i Iqbal*, v. I, Lahore 1950, v. II Lahore, 1951.
3. *Muhammad Uthman, Hayat-i Iqbal, in Iqbal*", v. VII, N 4, 1959.

IMPACT OF SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY ON HINDI LITERATURE 1919-39

Shivdan Singh Chauhan

The Socio-political aspirations and economic objectives of the National Movement in India, till 1919, were vague, undefined and almost nebulous. Even the promulgation of the Rowlatt Acts and the ghastly massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in 1919, which caused widespread resentment and bittereness, failed to provide sufficient sting to adopt at least 'Complete Independence' as the national objective. Instead, the Indian National Congress only adopted the famous resolution of Non-Co-operation, which according to Gandhiji represented "a movement of purification". According to Gandhiji, Non-Co-operation was actually the age-old institution of Social-Boycott which was applied against those who violated caste rules. In Gandhiji's own words :

> it (Non-Co-operation) was coeval with caste. It is the one terrible sanction exercised with great effect. It is based on the notion that the community is not bound to extend its hospitality or service to an excommunicate.

The "excommunicate" in this case happened to be the British, who had constitued themselves as the super-caste and had imposed themselves at the top of the pyramid of Indian caste-hierarchy.

What I intend to underline is that in the prevailing intellectual climate of 1919, whwn the 'ends' were utterly undefined and the 'means' were conceived in terms of institutions in-built in the hierarchical structure of the caste-system, it would be out of place to search for any impact of Socialist Ideology on Hindi literature, which due to the peculiar conditions and course of its growth reflected not the most advanced levels of social awareness and political aspirations of the time but the backward-looking tendencies of Brahmanical revivalism which is euphemistically designated as Hindu nationalism.

Conditioned as our minds are by our attitude of self-righteousness, this statement of fact may not be easily accepted. Therefore, we must take a closer look at it. Any objective study of Hindi literature and Hindi writers' Weltanschauung (world-view) and intellectual physiognomy, which takes account not merely the Indian context but also the context of world literature, will reveal that there has always been a considerable time-lag in a Hindi writers response to new ideas and literary movements that originate in other parts of the world sometimes as a result of spiritual crises born out of self-awareness or daring insights into the human situation or in anticipation of new shifts and changes in human relationships, ideas or modes of thought of society due to the impact of emerging forces or new historical compulsions. The Hindi writer, as he is perforce twice removed from reality—not in the Platonic sense, of course, but in the sense that while being the unconscious mouthpiece of contemporary Brahmanical revival, he has inherited or imbibed a system of values and a socioreligious syndrome,

which because of its built in pollusion complex and atavistic impulse, instinctively frowns upon all new ideas, ways of life and modes of behaviour which do not conform to his traditional notions. In this basically paranoeic state of mind they appear to him as alien and antithetical and therefore a dangerous challenge to the 'great Indian society and its ancient culture' by which like other revivalists he obviously means the 'caste-structure of Hindu Society' and its ideological rationale embodied in the philosophy of 'Karma' and 'Re-birth'. But no individual or society can ever completely insulate itself against alien influences. Therefore when compelled to accept these alien ideas of norms or moral and human behaviour, under the force or changing socio-economic circumstances, he again like other revivalists or the totality of the upper caste urban intelligentsia, does so in external form only, while all their essence or kernel is practically shed off. Thus the Hindi writer for no fault of his is automatically thrown one step away from reality.

The Hindi writers, I have often wondered, must suffer from an unconscious guilt-complex as most certainly I do, for having committed en-masse the sin of forsaking their own people and their own living and vibrant mothertongues-Maithili, Magadhi, Bhojpuri, Bagheli, Avadhi, Braj, Haryani, Rajasthani, Pahari, Punjabi and a few others in favour of the contemporary form of Hindi—a languge which was synthetically developed under British patronage to subserve their 'divide and rule' policy by consciously discarding, as for as possible, all words of Persian and Arabic orgin from Urdu—which had by then become a beautiful instrument of literary expression, of refined and urbane speech of both the educated Hindus and the Muslims of North India—and substituting in their place archaic words from a dead language, i.e., Sanskrit. This suited the leaders of Brahmanical revival eminently and they eagerly seized upon this, because they realised that Sanskrit could not be made a vehicle of revivalism as was possible during Gupta Period or during the days of Shankaracharya's rise. They could not make use of the regional languages for Brahmanical revival either as was done under compulsion during 16th centuries since the lowly castes during the egalitarian Mughal rule had become aware of the inhumanity of the caste-system and confronted the twice-born super-race with their concept of 'equality of man before God' preached by Kabir, Raidas, Dadu—their poet-saints. But now in the changed circumstances of the 19th century, when an English educated class, conversant with the thought and tradition of British liberalism had emerged and Urdu had developed into an alternate link-language of at-least North India, Brahmanical revivalism in its contemporary phase could not adopt either any one or all the regional languages of North India to serve as its vehicle. It needed a language, even though artificially created, which could have inherent potentialities of becoming an all-India language of at least the urbanized upper caste North Indan Hindus who could then be induced to discard Urdu so that through this new language they could again be made to revert to the fantastic world of mythology and the idyllic past in which Time and History did not exist. Into this static, petrified and osscified state of eternal bliss, in which caste-system would again hold unrestricted sway and total unconcern for fellow human beings and personal aggrandisement and salvation would be the supreme value, the revivalists wanted Indians to revert to, so that Hindu Society could be saved from being polluted by the liberalising impact of English education or Muslim egalitarianism. Ostensively, this Brahmanical revival could not but take the external form of the so-called 'Reform Movement', since certain glaringly inhuman monstrosities, which were inevitable overgrowth on the decadent body of

Hindu society could no longer be justified by any obscurantist sophistry or reference to old scriptures and had to be discarded or at least verbally disowned in order to make Hinduism and Hindu Society look less archaic and barbaric. Urdu, like English could not be utilized for initiating this process of intelectual reversion, as both these languages had to be shared in common with Muslims or Christians and all other Mlechhas, who could not conceivably agree to support such a reactionary step. That explains the reasons why Hindi and Hindi movement adopted a fancatically 'purist', anti-Muslim, anti-Urdu and anti-English stance from the very beginning.

Of course, initially the Hindi writer was not a party to this crime of depriving the various mother tongues of the peoples of North India of their fundamental right of literary growth, because any literature in Hindi had not yet been born. The forces of revivalism had already discarded these languages before talented young Hindus in the so-called Hindi region felt like dabbling in literature through the medium of Hindi in the last quarter of the 19th century. But they became accomplices in this crime as they willingly acquiesced in accepting the choice which their parents had made for them, so that while they spoke their various mother-tongues in their homes, they wrote in Hindi. This dichotomy of behaviour developed a kind of 'split-personality' in them, which has persistently manifested itself in other levels of their consciousness also till today. In the early stages the Hindi writers did indulge in a sterile debate about the respective merits of Hindi or Braj Bhasa as mediums of prose and verse writing, but ultimately abandoned it and opted for Hindi as it alone offered printing and publishing facilities as also employment opportunities due to official patronage. But this choice made their creative efforts almost fruitless in the beginning, because for nearly another forty years, at least two generations of Hindi writers had to wrestle with the problems of syntax and grammatic use of words and phrases—problems which even illiterate children do not have to face if they have to express even complex thoughts in their mother-tongue.

Thus twice removed from reality—from the world of modern ideas and scientific thought on the one hand and from the world of a living, pulsating language of their own peoples on the other —and caught at the tender, formative age in the vortex of Brahmanic revival, the Weltanschauung (world-view) of the Hindi writers became perforce very restricted, distorted and self-contradictory and thoroughly conditioned in the spirit of revivalism. This naturally affected the medium itself. Its vocabulary, its texture, its imagery, metaphors and fantasies became over-laden with the spirit of revivalism and a mystic faith in traditional modes of thought and emotion.

This rather detailed probe into the background of the development of Hindi language and literature was necessary to understand why Hindi writers' response to new ideas and events is generally so belated and peripheral.

Without this understanding, I am afraid, one could only explain why the ideas of Karl Marx and Enggls, who elaborated and propounded the philosophy of "Scientific Socialism" as opposed to the philosophy of "Utopian Socialism" of Sir Thomas Moore, William Morris and others, did not stir the imagination of the 19th century Indian intelligentsia while it had galvanised the working classes of almost all the countries of Europe and had given rise to new literary trends and movements, which laid greater emphasis on Realism as a method of artistic reflection of reality and on a new concept of humanism to expose the

glaring inequities and injustices of the acquisitive capitalist system based on the principle of exploitation of man by man and thus make the working people aware of their real situation and also of their destiny. One can simply say that the Indian intelligentsia was then almost negligible in number and had no free access to the philosophy of scientific socialism.

But one cannot conceivably understand or explain, without knowing this background and the general psychological make-up and intellectual syndrome of the Hindi writer, why even after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, which exercised such a tremendous impact on the minds of men everywhere, including India, the Hindi writers, with the exception of Prem Chand and perhaps, Nirala, should have completely ignored it and remained unresponsive to its revolutionary message almost for another decade and a half till revolutionary movements for Independence-Non-cooperation and Civil Disobiedence movements, peasants and working class struggles, Meerut Conspiracy Case and Jawaharlal Nehru's powerful advocacy of socialist ideas had completely changed the temper of the common people, stemmed the tide of revivalism, at least temporarily, and made the 'Chlayabadi' poetry almost look like a cry in the wilderness and thus paved the way for the emergence of a Progressive Writers Movement inspired by the ideology of Socialism. The poetry of Chhayavad had vainly tried to synthesise elements of 19th century Western Romanticism, which laid stress on the assertion of the individual with the elements of Brahmanical revivalist obscuranticism, euphemistically called 'mysticism' which denied the individual any role. It naturally failed in reconciling these irreconcilables and gradually became anachronistic. In simple words, Chhayavadi trend had failed to produce any great poetry of universal relevance, in spite of the fact that Nirala, Pant, Prasad and Mahadevi were poets of the first calibre. This failure was also responsible, to an extent, in turning them towards Socialist ideology in the middle of the thirties for a solution of their creative crisis, but the response of each of them differed in degree as well as in quality,

Some critics might also suggest that we can trace element of socialist influence in some of the poems of Nirala, which he wrote in early twenties. One such poem is 'Badal-Rag'—The Song of the Cloud—written in 1920 in which the poet has depicted the cloud as the harbinger of revolution and has invoked it to come and rain its blessings on the parched earth, on the dried up little sapplings and on the poor peasants whose flesh has been sucked dry in the mill of exploitation. Another famous poem is 'Bhikshuk'—The Beggar—written in 1921 in which Nirala depicts the heart-rending misery and plight of a beggar, who along with his two children, is forced to compete with dogs to pick up from a thrown away 'Pattal'. These poems, though they represent a departure from the general Chhayavadi tenor and temper, nonetheless do not indicate that Socialist ideology had impinged on his mind to inspire him to look compassionately at the plight of his people. At best we can say that it was a transitory impact if at all it was so, because during these very years he wrote several other major poems too, which reflect his revivalist attitude to political problems, in which he bewails the treachery of Hindus in the service of Moguls or their inertia and apathy, which resulted in their enslavement and emasculation. Such poems are 'Jago-Phir-Ek-Bar'—Rise once Again, 'Yamuna-Ke Prati'—To the Jamuna—or 'Chhatrapati-Shivaji-Ka-Ek-Patra'—A letter of Chahtrapati Shivaji—and many others which are replete with nostalgic memories of the days of Hindu glory and valour and with Hindu-mythological imagery and symbo

lism. Now perhaps these poems can provide us a clue to the understanding of the peculiar phenomena, which we Marxist critics have over-looked so far, as far, as to how the impact of Socialist ideology also became distorted and syncretised in Hindi literature and why no consistently secular and democratic literature imbued with the spirit of socialist humanism has been created in Hindi so far. Poets of Chhayavad tried, in the next decade, when they had accepted Socialism in varying drgrees, to continue their tradition of attempting to reconcile the irreconcilables by forging a chimeric synthesis between the socialist concern for social and economc emancipation of the masses and the so-called vedantic concern for spiritual emancipation of the individual and therefore once again they failed to create any great poetry which could have universal relevance. The Marxist critics, including myself, unfortunately failed to see the absurdity of this attempt and vulgarised literary standards and aesthetic concepts to acclaim these attempts without realising that Hindu revivalism and socialism have basically opposite outlooks on life and society.

During the ascendency of the Progressive movement in Hindi in the later part of the thirties, Nirala wrote a few more poems in the 'Bhikshuk' tradition, among which "Voh-Tarati-Patthar"—She Breaks Cobble-Stones—is the most famous. It is a powerful sketch of a young woman breaking stones for building a road during the unbearably hot days of June. Her resentment against the class society has been depicted in a very subtle manner through artistic suggestion—she looks at the poet and then looks at the high mansion of a rich man across the road with a defiant look while beads of perspiration strickle down from her forehead and then resuming her work as if she mutely proclaimed, "I am breaking stones!" This poem certainly reflects the defiant mood of the class-conscious toiling people, which the poet has successfully captured. This poem betrays a genuine human compassion which the poet perhaps acquired after his disillusionment with the traditional, degrading attitude of pity and charity towards the poor. His poem 'Dan' written two years earlier in 1935 gave an account of this disillusionmnt.

The impact of Socialist ideology on Jay Shankar Prasad is not very clear. In the 'Swapna'--Dream—and 'Sangharsh'—The Conflict—chapters of his epic poem 'Kamayani', in which he has treated the Hindu legend of the Flood metaphorically as the conflict of faith and reason in Man, Prasad has shown in great detail how Ida representing 'intellect' helps to build with the aid of science great metropolis, equipped with modern conveniences, throbbing with industries and crafts with a social order which provides everybody with ample means of subsistence—almost a city of dreams of which Manu is the Prajapati. But this materialistic civilization gives rise to greed, conflict of interests and other evils and the people rise in revolt and the city is destroyed and Manu ultimately is forced to revert to the soothing arms of 'Shraddha'— i.e., faith—for solace and salvation and they abandon this city of Saraswat to enter into a world of eternal bliss. One wonders at this pre-occupation with archaic imagery and archaic solutions how any twentieth century poet could indulge in such a purile exercise of imagination which arbitrarily creates a water-tight division in the cognitive function of the mind and then proceeds to show that one leads to conflict and strife while the other ensures peace and happiness. To suggest, as some critics in their naivety have suggested, that these two chapters reflect the impact of Socialist ideology, can only mean that his response to the scientific thought of

socialism was utterly negative as is expected of a man of thoroughly revivalist attitude on life. Manu does not face the problems or the conflict, but abandons his people to their fate and escapes into solitude to attain his personal salvation. However, in his novel 'Kankal', Prasad displayed a more positive attitude—not necessarily under the influence of Socialist ideology, but positive and progressive nonetheless. Love is not considered a worthy sentiment by the upper-caste Hindu society and therefore it has never been given precedence over 'duty' or the ritual of marriage. Tara of Kankal, however, defies this inhuman tradition and she lives with the man she loves. But much of the 'progressive and humanist' significance of this bold act of the girl is lost, because she comes from a lower caste, which, in spite of a deprived existence, has never accepted the norms of a dehumanised morality rigidly followed by the upper-castes. Perhaps Prasad could not conceive of an upper-caste girl asserting the supremacy of love over every other consideration.

Sumittranandan Pant's response to Socialist ideology was, however, more positive, though essentially abstract. He is a poet, who has always lived in a world of fantasy, wher ecrude, vulgar, gruesome aspects of reality do not exist and where only beauty and goodness and light prevail. While living in this world of fantasy, he came under the influence of Marx in mid-thirties. Perhaps he was the first major Hindi poet who seriously studied Marxism before accepting its world-outlook. During the last four or five years of the period under review, Pant wrote a number of poems which show an unmistakable impact of Socialist ideology. These poems were published in three collection—*Yugant* (The End of An Epoch). *Yug-Vani* (The Voice of the Age) and *Gramya*—(The Village Maidan). In several of these poems, he verified Marxist thought, role of working class in the building of a socialist society and questioned the basis of traditional morality, traditional social system and traditional values. In Gramya, particularly, he stepped out of his world of ideas and fantasy to have a look at the real working men and women of his village resort of Kalakankar and painted some beautiful pen portraits or depicted their group or individual behaviour. In doing all this the poet displayed genuine compassion for the tragic lot of his fellowmen. But perhaps this was a too lengthy sojourn into the world of reality, and gradually he again reverted to his world of fantasy in which all conflicts and contradictions cease to exist, opposites meet and coalesce —revivalism and socialism and obscurantism and science shed off their evil features and are completely humanised and then hand-in-hand they ascend to the futurist heaven of light and bliss. Fantastic one may call it, but that is how minds steeped in tradition never shed off their predilections and accept reality as it is.

Several other major poets during the later part of the thirties had emerged such as Dinkar, Balkrishan Sharma Navin and Bachachan in the Chhayavadi trend. Dinkar sang of 'Kranti'—Revolution—since in his view it was a primordial force of destruction and devastation and would in one sweep destroy all that was evil, tyrannical and predatory in life or society. This attitude was not so much due to an impact of socialist ideology but of an aggressive nationalism, which could also degenerate into blind hatred of anything considered alien to Hindu society—including Socialism, because elements of revivalist imagery were inextricably woven in the very texture and language of his poetry. The same holds true of Balkrishna Sharma Navin, who was not a mere poet but also a man of action, a participant in the national movement and working class struggles. His famous poem, 'Juthe Patte', 'Narak-Vidhan' and 'Viplav-Gayan'

display less of socialist consciousness than an angry outburst of aggressive nationalism.

Bachchan, on the other hand, represented a separate category. The constant preoccupation of his predecessors had been to Sanskritise the language of Hindi poetry to such an extend that it may not ever become easily intelligible to the common people. Bachchan, like Prem Chand, came from the eclectic community of Kayasthas, who because of their more enlightened and cosmopolitan outlook were looked down as no better than Shudras by the twice-born. He, therefore, could not be too much predisposed towards the Brahmanical revival in his poetry. He virtually revolutionised the language and attitude of Hindi poetry towards reality. His language and imagery like Prem Chand's language and imagery was drawn from the speech of everyday life and the experience of the common people. He made no conscius effort at 'purism', did not discard words of Arabic or Persian origin which had become current. His poems of Madhu-Shala and Madhu-Kalash openly ridiculed Hindu and Muslim orthodoxy, Brahmanical morality and inhumanity of the caste system and social taboos. Some of these poems, like 'Lahron men Nimantram' (Invitation in the waves)—had a tremendous forward-looking exhuberance. There was no mysticism, no obscurantism in his attitude. He fought against all kinds of discrimination based on religion, race, class or sex, that is, he expressed the aspirations of the common people when he demanded human relations to be organised on a genuine human basis. If attitude towards language and towards human relations can be accepted as a test of a writers' imbibing of the spirit of socialism, then, among the poets of the older generation, only Bachchan had done so, even though he may not have studied Marxist texts as assiduously as Pant did. Another notable thing about this poet is that with age he did not emotionally or intellectually revert to the world of mythological obscurantism—apparently an escapable fate of those who fail to free themselves completely from the deadening grip of the revivalist ethos. Bachchan's mental horizon and his range of sympathies have widened with age, his outlook has become more modernised and humane even though he may have lost much of his exhuberance and poetic impulse.

The Progressive Writers' Movement in Hindi which gave a socialist orientation to literature in the latter part of the thirties, however, did not throw up any poet of major stature from amongst the innumerable young enthusiasts who joined the movement and through their revolutionary poems passionately reflected the urges and aspirations of the people for a better deal and a better life. Some of these displayed promise but their talent flowered only after the period under review.

Now let us turn to fiction. Prem Chand, as everybody knows, is still considered the most important novelist and short-story writer Hindi has produced so far. Assessment may differ about the literary merit of his individual works or about their abiding value and he may not rank among the titans of world literature, but taken as a whole and considering the times he wrote and the wide range of social life he encompassed in his works, there are no two opinions about his greatness. He had a talent for relating a story which means he had a natural sense of reality. But he was not a genius and his natural sense of reality would have been smothered and even completely withered, if he had not consciously maintained his links with the common people and if he had not waged a lifelong creative struggle to shed off one illusion after another in order to prevent

himself from being sacked into the quicksands of the prevalent spirit of revivalism. That is why he achieved a degree of freedom to realistically reflect the horrid and gruesome actualities of Indian life, its social inequities, its petrifying stagnation, its moral corruption and its inhuman and racist steel-frame of the caste-system as well as the smouldering resentment and bitterness amongst the oppressed and exploited people and the occasional eruptions of this bitterness into open revolt. Prem Chand's first two novels, *Vardan* and *Pratigya* were poor specimens of little significance. His third novel, *Seva-Sadan*, however, had greater clarity and dealt with a real situation—the fate of a poor Hindu woman who is forced to seek assylum in a house of prostitution because she has been abandoned by her husband on mere suspicion of unfaithfulness. Such barbaric situations are peculiar to Hindu Society alone, which supports dual standards and provides no alternate human avenues of existence to a woman once she transgresses or is even suspected, of having transgressed the hide-bound rules of marital faithfulness. Although Prem Chand could not provide any way out of this situation and could not make the husband Gajadhar to woo back his wife Suman after realising that his original suspicion was wrong and a great injustice had been done, he exposed the injustice all right without mincing words. A character in the novel—Kanwar Saheb—who is a member of the Municipal Board, admits bluntly that prostitution and red-light areas thrive mainly because there are landlords, bureaucrats, capitalists and rich people, who oppress and exploit people. Once this exploitation is ended, red-light areas will also disappears. This novel was published in 1918, i.e., immediately after the Great October Revolution. Although there is no mention of the Revolution in it, the deep concern for the harrowing lot of the Hindu woman does show that the liberating influence of the Socialist Revolution had struck a sympathetic chord in Prem Chand's heart for under socialism such abaminations are not possible to exist.

This became clear in his next novel *Premashram* which deals with the peasant question. The novel was written in 1918-19 and published in 1922. In the village of Lakhanpur, the scene of the novel, the landlord Gyan Shankar and his manager Gaus Khan plunder and oppress with increasing cruelty their peasant tenants. It naturally arouses the peasants' protest and anger, which erupts into violent action when Gaus Khan attempts to rape Manohar's wife Bilasi in the village pasture land. Manohar, otherwise a peaceable peasant, murders Gaus Khan as a result of which the hole machinery of police terror and oppression is let loose on the village. Pained and shocked by the event, Gyan Shankar's brother Prem Shanker, who was educated in England and therefore had enlightened ideas and greater respect for human beings, opens a Premashram for the amelioration of the peasants' lot. Manohar's son young Balraj is a class-conscious peasant. He talks about the Soviet Revolution enthusiastically and is inspired by the idea of a Peasant and Workers' Raj, which alone, he feels, could put an end to injustice. Prem Chand, however, has not idealised Balraj over his father Manohar or old Qadir, his friend, but the very introduction of such a class-conscious character is Hindi novel was significant at that stage. Another noteworthy point is the character of Prem Shankar, whose Gandhian solution of the peasant problem may sound idyllic, but the fact that he was educated outside India and therefore had a more enlightened and humane outlook, is significant. Premashram, it must be underlined, is the first Hindi novel which mainly reflects not the caste-division and the evils created by them, but the class-division and class-conflicts which cut across these

caste-divisions and are as much a source of injustice and opression. It, therefore, signified the recognition of a new dimension of social reality which the impact of the October Revolution and the Socialist ideology had made possible.

Prem Chand again reverted to the question of the growing class-conflict in his novel *Rang-Bhumi* in 1927-28, after his two minor novels *Nirmala* and *Kaya-Kalpa*. In *Rang-Bhumi*, he tries to show the rise of capitalist industry and how this is likely to corrupt and poison the entire life of the countryside. I feel that this problem has been artificially posed and the struggle led by Surdas, a blind peasant on whose land John Sevak, the capitalist wanted to build his factory, has an artificial atmosphere about it. It appears that the impact of the October Revolution had watered down and got diffused in his mind in course of time and the overall popularity of the Gandhian ideology, which looked with suspicion on machines and machine-made goods and industrialisation in gneral, had confirmed in Prem Chand's mind the traditional Indian view of the essential goodness of village-life. His emotional preference for feudal social relationships, in spite of many abominable evils in them, are quite evident from this novel. But these illusions gradually wore off and in the thirties, when confining the national movement for freedom within Gandhian limits began to be questioned by young patriots who had come under the influence of Marxism during their studies abroad, Prem Chand once again reverted to the peasant question in his last and most important novel *Godan*. In this novel Prem Chand looks at the total Indian situation as a realist and creates many living and powerful characters, such as Hori, Dhania, Gober, Jhunia—all peasants and the landlord Amarpal Singh, the industrialist Khanna and others. These characters symbolise their class also and reflect the entire gamut of relationships, attitudes and morality of their respective classes. Here Prem Chand does not invent any artificially contrived solution and the tragic end leaves a lasting impression that no ad hoc expedient or altruistic solution is possible to reconeile the antagonistic interests of the exploited and the exploiting classes.

This leads us directly to the progressive movement in Hindi as well as other regional literatures of India. The movement was the outcome of a powerful impact of socialist ideology made possible by the revolutionary peasant movements and the working-class stuggles of the thirties. Among other factors which helped the growth of the movement were Jawaharlal Nehru's constant insistence on defining, in socialist terms, the social and economic objectives of the freedom struggle, the establishment of a Socialist Party uniting all the Socialist and Communist groups and led by young intellectuals who had been educated in England and America and were well aware of the danger to peace, freedom and progress of the world created by the rise of Fascism in Germany, Italy and Spain.

Impact inevitably implies clash of ideas, conflict and confrontation between opposing forces. It happened in India too, during the thirties when Socialist ideology invaded the minds of our intelligentsia and the people. There was clash and conflict in all fields of life. In literature it took the form of opposition of progressive ideas. The first manifesto of the Progressive writers was adopted in 1935 by a group of young Indian writers in London. Later in December, the same year, the Indian Progressive Writers' Association was formed at Allahabad and several leading Hindi and Urdu writers, including Prem Chand and Firaq, Pant and Nirala became signatories to this little historic document. The manifesto took note of the great changes that were taking place

in Indian society and called upon writers to give expression to these revolutionary changes and not take refuge in mysticism and false spirituality or decaying beliefs and ideas. All that bred passivity, inaction, escapism or blind belief was characterised as Reactionary and all that aroused in us a spirit of rationality, courage and insight to question and examine old beliefs in the light of reason, and gave us strength and courage to act and organise was characterised as Progressive. Immediately it produced contrary reactions. Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, Jayprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and important writers in all the Indian languages whole-heartedly welcomed this new movement. The young, budding writers particularly manifested great enthusiasm. But the government frowned upon the movement, the British-owned and local bourgeois press characterised it as Moscow-inspired, while the conservative writers steeped in Hindu orthodoxy and imbued with the spirit of revivalism—particularly in Hindi—called it an anti-Indian cultural movement. When Prem Chand presided over the first All India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Lucknow in April 1936, a number of articles appeared in Hindi journals condemning him as a 'Propagandist of Hatred', citing innumerable instances from his short stories and novels to prove the point how Prem Chand has been depicting characters from lowly castes who question the sacredotal authority of the Brahmins, who were portryed in a bad light—as corrupt, cruel and superstition-ridden characters. Similarly, when my long article, which was read at the Hindi-Urdu Progressive Writers Conference held at Allahabad in 1936 Writers Conference held at Allahabad in 1936 and later appeared in *Vishal Bharat* in early 1937—in which I had tried for the first time in Hindi to give a comprehensive Marxist interpretation of literature, about a dozen articles appeared in leading Hindi journals by well-known Hindi writers of the day raising the frantic cry that my programme of creating a progressive literature in Hindi was designed to destroy Indian culture. However, a debate and a confrontation had started. Pant brought out his journal *Roopabh*, Narottam Nagar published his journal *Uchshrankhal* from Lucknow, and I edited *Prabha* from Allahabad. Several outstanding writers of the old and young generation contributed and collaborated in these journals. Rahul Sankrityayan, Narendra Sharma, Yashpal, Ram Bilas Sharma, Prakash Chandra Gupta, Ram Braksh Benipuri and several others joined the battle and helped to fight back the onslaughts of the reaction. Branches of the Progre-sive Writers' Association, in which Hindi and Urdu writers participated jointly, sprang up in all cultural and educational centres. Gradually by the time of the onset of the Second World War, the Progressive Writers' Movement in Hindi had become the dominant trend. This tempo was maintained till 1947 when India became independent.

The impact of Socialist ideology has helped Hindi literature and Hindi writers to liberate themselves from the reactionary ideology of revivalism to an extent and to reflect real problems of the people and actualities of their lives. The momentum of impact has not still died, but it has become diluted and diffused, the how and why of which is outside the pale of this review and requires a spearate study.

INDIA IN INDIAN WRITING IN ENGLISH AND BRITISH WRITING

E. J. Kalinnikova

The terms designating Indian literature in the English language are diverse. Most widespread are "Anglo-Indian" and "Indo-Anglian". The term "Anglo-Indian Literature" sometimes stands for the works of British poets and prose writers whose writings are about India,[1] and "Indo-Anglian Literature" refers to the works of Indian authors in English.[2] English literary scholars usually do not distinguish between these two concepts. G. Sampson, for instance, along with R. Kipling and A. Steele considers the Indian enlightener Ram Mohan Roy (Raja), Sarojini Naidu—an Indian poetess who wrote verses in English and Rabindranath Tagore to belong to Anglo-Indian literature.[3] The same position is held by G. Th. Garratt who deals with the works of J. Leyden, R. Kipling, E. Arnold, E.M. Forster, Sarojini Naidu, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya and Mulk Raj Anand within the framework of a single "Indo-Anglian civilization".[4] Among Indian literary critics one also comes across scholars who adhere to a similar point of view. The Indian thinker A.R. Wadia writes that at last we are witnessing the realization of Macaulay's dream who was intent "on creating 'brown Englishmen' with definite ideas.. not merely Indians writing English but Indians smitten by the love of English....which has become a part and parcel of our life, our hopes and our aspirations."[5]

The fact that English and Indian writers express their views in English cannot to our mind serve as proof of their belonging to English culture. Why, if we considered the English language to be the basic criterion in determining the national essence of a literary work, there would be no American, nor Canadian, nor Australian, nor Nigerian, nor any other English-language literatures ?

This article makes an attempt to show the differences between the Indian English-language literature and the English literature on Indian subject matter and to determine the national essence of English-written Indian literature and its place in the general literary process of India. On making a concrete comparison between the works of R. Kipling, E. M. Forster and J. Masters on the one hand, and the novels of the English language Indian writers on the other, one may discover substantial distinguishing features between English literature and Indian national literature in the English language.

To avoid misunderstandings I would like to clarify what is meant by the concept 'national' in the given context. The fact that India does not comprise a single Indian nation does not at all denote that we have no right to speak of a single Indian culture, Indian philosophy and, finally, of a general national specificity in the literatures of the Indian peoples, which evolved on the basis of a cultural community that developed in the course of history. It is precisely that cultural community that makes the Indians, despite regional limitations and differing religions, conceive themselves as a single whole, it is that very cultural community that gives us grounds to speak of the national Indian character and

of a united national liberation movement in India. It is in that conditional meaning as a synonym to "all Indian", that we use the term "national".

The language unquestionably has a direct relation to the national form of artistic creative endeavour, but the English language in this case, irrespective of how we call it: India's state language, the educated Indian's second native tongue or a kind of Esperanto for all Indian states, can by no means serve as the only criterion in determining the national form of writing. As Nafi Djusoity, a Soviet literary critic, put it: "The national in the form of an artistic work is primarily related not to the peculiarities of the national language, but to the specificity of national style". It is hard not to agree with this if one keeps in mind that "national style" includes the concept of national specificity of creative endeavour in its entirety, that is, an original artistic attitude engendered by national conditions.

As G.D. Gachev justly remarks, "all peoples walk under the same sun and almost the same sky", but "they walk on different soil, they have different ways of life and history, i.e., they grow out of different soil."[7] The hot Indian climate, Indian fauna and flora—these constant factors certainly conditioned the shaping of a specific national way of life which is reflected in Indian literature. But that is only one aspect. The age-old social way of life and the cultural and historic experience of the people, affecting human psychology, engender a definite world outlook. In the final account they also determine the scope of literary subjects, the corresponding evaluation of life's phenomena and approach to them.

G. Byol noted very aptly: "National colouring is like naiveté : if you realize you have it, then you have already lost it."[8] Indian writers Anand, Bhattacharya and Narayan do not permeate their works about Indians with any special Indian colour. Conception of the Indian through Indian eyes is as natural and inalienable for them as the traditional lavaboes. Are British artists capable of that? Of all the Britishers who wrote about India the first name to come to one's mind is R. Kipling who made himself celebrated by showing the Europeans, as A. I. Kuprin put it, "the whole of wondrous and enchanting India, blinding one with bright colours, overpowering and overwhelming one with a kind of monstrous waterfall of people, countries, events, attire, customs, legends, wars, love, tribal revenge, madness, raving, greatness and collapse."[9]

Kipling loved the Orient in his own manner, and in his own manner admired it (see "Mandalay" and "The Jungle Book"). Indian landscapes, temples, crowds of believers, lavaboes, the sari and dhoti, wrist bells, sounds and smells are really excellently rendered in his works. But the Orient, and India in particular, attracted Kipling mainly by its exotics.

The artist was in the main occupied with Britishers living in India and not the natives of the country. The former's manner of life in effect comprises the contents of the writer's works, and everything Indian, including the living people, is nothing more than a background against which events develop. Northwestern India—Punjab, Peshawar, Simla—are the usual place of action for Kipling. Here live the British missionaries who are converting a family of mountain dwellers to Christianity and bringing up an orphan girl (the story "Lispeth"), here one finds the Mulvaney couple who, having spent the greater part of their life in India, became estranged from England and chose to live out the remainder of their days in more customary surroundings (the story "The Big

Drunk Draf"). Kipling uses the Indian resort Simla as a background to build up a love intrigue between an English official and the wife of an English officer (The Hill of Illusion). That same Simla is the site of a most complex triangle: Mrs. Keith-Wessington, Mr. Jack Pansay and Miss Kitty Mannering (The Phantom Rickshaw). In Kipling's works we frequently see in the foreground a representative of the British Empire performing his "civilizing mission among the Asiatics", and the writer usually qualifies that mission as a moral exploit of his countrymen.

"Take up the White Man's burden—
No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go make them with your living,
And mark them with your dead!

* * *

Take up the White Man's burden —
Have done with childish days —
The lightly profferred laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise.
Come now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years,
Cold-edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgement of your peers!"[10]

The writer once and for all draws a line of demarcation between himself and his like, and those whom he calls "natives", "Asiatics", "blacks": "A man should, whatever happens, keep to his own caste, race and breed. Let the White go to the White and the Black to the Black".[11]

None of the enchanting pictures he created could hide the tendentiousness of his works. A.I. Kuprin who acknowledged Kupling's talent as a writer admitted that "the Englishman in Kipling overshoadows the artist and the man".[12] Konstantin Paustovsky's assessment of Kipling's work was about the same: "Kipling was a true" Britisher, cruel and firm, who wrote his books to glorify Great England—the sovereign of oceans and empires where the sun never set. He was its faithful servant, soldier and singer".[13] R. Kipling's world outlook, his views on the existing order of things manifest themselves in almost every Indian image he created. It's not mere chance that the chief character in his novel Kim—a youngster who spied for the British Empire –turns out to be the son of an Englishman and a Hindu woman.

Englishmen in India are the chief characters in the works of another British novelist, E. M. Forster, about whom Arnold Kettle, an English literary critic, says: "When E. M. Forster writes about India we are all the time aware of an outside observer battling with problems which he may not—he is quite aware—fully understand."[14] Forster in his novel "A Passage to India" describes two British women, Mrs. Moore and Miss Quested, who wish to see the real India with its mosques, temples, and caves, and hear old Hindu ritual singing. Though the English in Forster's books set up clubs in which "evenings on the bridge" are arranged (a symbolic bridge connecting the East

and the West) they really remain enstranged from the local population. One can even hear the following from Forster's characters : "Why, the kindest thing one can do to a native is to let him die".[15] A brief quote from Forster's novel gives a most graphic idea of how the Englishman's British spirit is upheld in India : "Meanwhile the performance ended, and the amateur orchestra payed the National Anthem. Conversation and billiards stopped, faces stiffened. It was the Anthem of the Army of Occupation. It reminded every member of the club that he or she was British and in exile."[16] Despite, however, Forster's most interesting descriptions of the town of Chandropore, the holy Ganges, the Malabar caves—a Buddhist and Jainist object of worship—his work does not contain a deep analysis of Indian reality and Indian characters.

Contemporary John Masters, a writer of a later generation, is no exception. Having first appeared in print in 1951 he published more than a dozen novels about India in the next 15 years, novels rated as best-sellers on the book market. Like R. Kipling, Masters was born in India, educated in London and then again returned to India. He served in the British Indian Army until the country gained its independence, and left India only in 1948.

Masters turned out two autobiographical novels. One of them—"Bugles and Tiger"[17]—is a kind of diary with a detailed account of clashes that took place on the north-western Indian border of India in 1937. The novel "The Road Past Mandalay"[18] tells about Masters' further service in the British-Indian Army which fought in World War II and had been to Syria, Iraq, Iran and Burma. Like Kipling to whom the wind in the palms and the bells in the temples whispered :

"Come you back, you British soldier ;
Come you back to Mandalay !"[19]

Masters also paid homage to that picturesque Burmese town. But it isn't simply the place of action of their works that creates an affinity between the two authors. What first of all leaps to the eye is that the Asian countries and their inhabitants are again only a background against which the lives of the chief characters unfold. The rest of Masters' novels are united by a single pivotal subject.[20] Characterizing the life of several generations of the Savages, an English family, the author shows the history of British domination in India.

Following in the footsteps of Kipling and Forster, John Masters makes his main characters either Englishmen or Anglo-Indians. He, probably, devotes more attention to the latter than his predecessors, raising in his works the problem of relations between people of different colour. To convince yourself of this you need onle open one of his best novels, "Bhowani Junction" in which, as the writer said himself, "he has tried to give the 'feel" of the times and a sense of historical perspective",[21] having probably in mind the eve of India's independence—1947.

The main character of the novel is 28-year-old Victoria Johnes, the daughter of an Englishman and a Hindu woman. Like other Anglo-Indians in the novel she also suffers the tragedy of a person "split" between two social poles. "We think, says Victoria, "God fixed everything in India so it can't alter. The English despise us but need us. We despise the Indians but we need them. So it's all been fixed—the English say where the trains are to go to, we take them there and the Indians pay for them and travel in them".[22]

The same problem is eating Patrick Taylor—Victoria's sweetherart: "Her own skin (Victoria's.—E.K.) was the same colour as mine, perhaps a little browner, less yellow. We didn't look like English people. We looked like what we were —Anglo-Indians, Eurasians, cheechees, half-caste, eight-annas, blacky-whites. I've heard all the names they call us."[23] Or a little later he again returns to the same subject: "That last thing I had said, about going Home (to England —E.K.), was mere foolishness, and I knew it... We couldn't go Home. We couldn't become English because we were half Indian. We couldn't become Indian, because we were half English. We could only stay where we were and be what we were... The English would go any time now and leave us..."[24]

The idea that the racial barrier is insurmountable permeates the entire novel. The heroine learning that Sikh Ranjit Singh is deeply in love with her is completely nonplussed: "What would we talk about? Dancing? He couldn't dance, not our way. Music? His music was so different that it sounded to us like cats fighting. Food? Houses? Clothes? Drinks? There would be nothing for us to talk about..."[25] Victoria makes a sincere attempt to imbue herself with the spirit of Sikhism, she even dons a sari, but the sense of mixed blood, "of a quality superior" to that of the Sikh gets the upper hand, and she exclaims: "It was awful, trying to be an Indian. No one understands me... You con't understand what has happened. But I found I couldn't change myself."[26]

The degree to which the three authors—Kipling, Forster and Masters-penetrate into their surrounding life is in effect not great, although they all possess considerable artistic mastery and can vividly recreate the "sight and smell of India."[27]

It is of interest to touch at least in passing upon the image of the Indian in the works of the British authors. As a rule, this is an Indian with a biased attitude towards the English. Take, for instance, Aziz in Forster's "Passage to India". He is flattered by the friendliness of Mr. Fielding, the College Principal. While visiting him once, Aziz gives him his collar stud to replace a broken one. Later on Mr. Heaslop, the Magistrate, ridicules Aziz, fully convinced that the native is incapable of wearing European clothes. Forster writes, "He (Aziz—E.K.) was tender to everyone except a few family enemies whom he did not consider human: on these he desired revenge. He was even tender to the English; he knew at the bottom of his heart that they could not help being so cold and odd and circulating like an ice stream through his land."[28]

But on the other hand Aziz is very punctilious and fears that his liking for the English may be interpreted as careerism. When Miss Quested suspected him of an attempt upon her honour Aziz, who was absolutely innocent, gave himself up to the police in implicit obedience, but even after he was acquitted he couldn't forgive his English acquaintances their unfounded accusation. "You think", he says, "that by letting Miss Quested off easily I shall make a better reputation for myself and the attempt to gain promotion officially. I have decided to have nothing more to do with British India, as a matter of fact I shall seek service in some Moslem State, such as Hyderabad, Bhopal, where Englishmen cannot insult me any more."[29] This metamorphosis in Aziz' character is not very convincing, it's too sudden.

We could take a seemingly favourable chapter from Kipling's The Second "Jungle Book", The Miracle of Purun Bhagat. One senses in it the British

artist's striving to understand the national essence of the Indian character. Sir Puran Dass has a long time been worshiping the English, ingratiating himself with his superiors. Having hardly entered upon his career he already knows that "if any one wished to get on he must stand well with the English, and imitate all the English believed to be good. At the same time a native official must keep his own master's favour."[30] Having firmly decided to attain recognition Purun Dass, possessing outstanding ability, rose to the office of "Prime Minister of the progressive and enlightened State of Mohiniwala" and became "honorary or corresponding member of more learned and scientific societies."[31] Then Kipling recounts a sharp turning point in the life of his character who gives up high society life and wordly vanity: "He had been as the Old Law recommends, twenty years a youth, twenty years a fighter—though he had never carried a weapon in his life—and twenty years head of a household.. Now he would let these things go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer. Next month when the city had returned to its sun-baked quiet, he (Purun Dass—E.K.) did a thing no Englishman would have dreamed of doing, for so far as the world's affairs went, he died. The jeweled order of his knight-hood returned to the Indian Government, and a new Prime minister was appointed to the charge of affairs, and a great game of General Post began in all the subordinte appointments. The priests knew what had happened and the people guessed; but India is the one place in the world where a man can do as he pleases and nobody asks why; and the fact that Dewan Sir Purun Dass, K.C.I.E., had resigned position, palace, and power, and taken up the begging-bowl and ochre-coloured dress of a Sunnyasi or holy man, was considered nothing extraordinary.. he walked through the city gates, an antelope skin and brasshandled crutch under his arm, and a begging-bowl of polished brown coco-de-mer in his hand, barefoot, alone, with eyes cast on the ground..."[32]

In this episode Kipling grasped the specificity of the Indian mind, but nevertheless failed to reveal the full depth of the man's rebirth. Purun Bhagat's life as a hermit (Purun Bhagat is Purun Dass' new name) in seclusion at the Kali sanctuary, his kindness towards animals: the cub bear and deer, the terrible storm in the mountains illumined by lightning, and the villagers being saved from a fatal landslide by the "holy Bhagat", all seem interesting but rather decorative, since one doesn't sense the force of Dass' innermost convictions.

Quite differently is the turning point in "holy Raju's" life depicted in R.K. Narayan's novel "The Guide" (this polysemantic title was in the Russian translation replaced by "The Holy Raju"). The naive peasants take Raju, recently released from jail, for a holy man. The believers honour and worship him, hearken to every word of his and at first bring him gifts and food. The role of a holy man is quite to Raju's taste up to a certain point. Circumstances, however, after a while begin to demand from Raju apart from "wisdom", which has not been inconveniencing him at all, actions too. The villagers are hoping he will help them to overcome the cruel drought, that he will with prayer and fasting bring on rain. Raju finds himself in a hopeless position. The time has come to pay for his lies, for the gifts, for the honour accorded him. Without his wishing it he has become a holy man and is now forced against his will to fast. He realizes that the only thing upholding the doomed to starvation peasants of the entire province is faith in the force of his holiness. Raju arrives at the thought that he cannot deprive the people of their last hope. More, he himself becomes infected by their naive farvent faith. He is ready to face death.

A shrewd psychologist, Narayan explains the turn in Raju's mind and soul as a result of suffering which ennobles the human soul; it is always hard for a person to abuse the trust placed in him. Raju's suffering was a purgatory from which he emerged released of the filth seated in him. The best qualities of his human nature were awakened : "For the first time in his life he was making an earnest effort, for the first time he was learning the thrill of full application, outside money and love; for the first time he was doing a thing in which he was not personally interested. He felt suddenly so enthusiastic that it gave him a new strength to go through with the ordeal. The fourth day of his fast found him quite sprightly. He went down to the river, stood facing up stream with his eyes shut, and repeated the litany. It was no more than a supplication to the heavens to send down rain and save humanity".[33] The logic of the psychological development of Raju's character is to a great extent determined by the national and spiritual specilicity of an Indian.[34]

The mind of the British artist usually reflects only objective Indian reality, while that reality in the Indian writer's mind is also seemingly refracted when passing through the prism of national conception and form of expression. Any descriptin taken from the novels by Anand, Bhattacharya, or Narayan can serve as an example of this complex triple-stage conception of reality. "To probe the source of national specilicity", G.D. Gachev writes, "it is necessary to submerge oneself in antiquity."[35] This thought is absolutely correct because it is precisely the adherence to the traditional, to the ethical and aesthetic norms that have undergone the test of time and become rooted in the mind of the contemporary Indian that is the unqualified evidence of his national essence.

A distinguishing feature of the Indian English-language writers is that though tutored in British schools during their childhood, they were brought up in the spirit of Indian tradition and their creative work is inseparably bound up with it. Every one of them in one way or another experienced the influence of verbal national art, be it through mother's stories (Anand), grandmother's fairy tales (Narayan), or the recitations of wandering minstrels (Bhattacharya). It is therefore not surprising that we later repeatedly come across the roving singer, wandering sannyasi, yogi, sadhu, or bard in the works of Anand, Bhattacharya and Narayan. A characteristic detail: the holy Mount Kailas and the pantheon of the Indian Gods dwelling there figure in the works of all three authors. This, for instance, is how Bhattacharya portrays the life of yogi Atmaram, a national legendary hero : "There was, Atmaram, striding the cliff-side. There, also was the Master, a hundred years old and ageless. 'Sing, Atmaram, son', Wild animals padded close to near the voice of incantation. Ahead was the slope dipping down to the Holy Lake, the vast blue expanse of water on top of the world. Beyond it rose the steep mass of Mount Kailas, where the God Siva dwelt. No feet, human or animal (apart from the hoofs of the God's mount, the Bull) had trodden this snowolas region. 'Sing, Atmaram, so the God may hear you. Sing until the skies tremble."[36]

The fragment is short but one can feel measured harmony of style in it, there is an inner rhythm here showing direct connection with oral folk art. It was faithfulness to national traditions that led R. K. Narayan, when he made the characters of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* act again on the pages of his book.[37] M. R. Anand was led by the same feeling when he wrote his "Indian Fairy Tales", in which the characters of Indian epics came to life again.[38]

What can British writers oppose to this profound connection with Indian folk-lore? Perhaps, the only book to be mentioned is "The Jungle book" by R. Kipling. No doubt, this work witnesses to the writer's talent. Still it is not so much for the connection with Indian folk-lore or with Indian tradition, as for the mixture of fantasy and perfect and detailed knowledge of Indian fauna and flora. At the same time the Indian English-language writers do not restrict themselves with pure reflection of Indian folk-lore but also overgive a new meaning of legends and tales of antiquity in their works. The main character of Vasu in the novel "Maneater in Malgudi" by R. K. Narayan, may serve here as an example. At the foundation of this character there lies the idea— "evil must destroy itself"—incarnated in wide popular Indian legend about Bhasmasura. The death of Raju, the main character of "The Guide", another novel by the the same author, also might be interpreted in symbolically traditional aspect. "The ending is very Indian too,—C.D. Narasimhayah writes— Raju's death viewed symbolically means that the individual by losing his life in water brings rain (and life) to his fellowmen, and his death is just "death by water"—which is really not death but a means of self-purification and self-realisation. It is the triumph of the traditional way of living over natural and man-made catastrophes."[39]

It is up to a point to mention here "The Moment of Eternity", a short story by Bh. Bhattacharya, in which wife's struggle for the life of her dying husband is constantly compared with Savitri's struggle against Yama for Satiyavan's life.

The depiction of the national psychology from within is one of the main distinguishing features of the national specificity of the Indian English-language writers. In Anand's well-known trilogy (The Village; Across the Black Water; The Sword and the Sickle) devoted to the life of the peasantry, the writer describes peasants being recruited into the Army during the First World War. The sepoys naively imagine the war as a struggle between good and evil, as a light between the forces of light and darkness which is described in ancient Indian epics. "Some said that the war beyond the black waters was only another Mahabharata because the Angrezi Badshah was a cousin of the Badsah of Germany, just as the Pandus were cousins of the Kauru.. and all the powerful kingdoms within reach were drawn into the struggle as in the old days of the great war of Kurukshetra."[40]

National environment and national psychology in the works of the Indian English-language authors are as inseparable as being and consciousness. In this connection it may be interesting to compare descriptions made by Indian and by British authors not only of national characters but of national events as well. British writers conceive and reproduce everything connected with the aid of their own habitual English ideas, images and means. Here is how the celebration of Krishna's birthday (janamashtami) in the temple looks in Forster's above-mentioned novel. "The assembly was in a tender, happy state unknown to an English crowd, it seethed like a beneficient potion. Music there was but from so many many sources that the sum-total was untrammelled. The braying banging crooning melted into a single mass which trailed found the palace before joining the thunder. Rain fell at intervals throughout the night.

It was the turn of Professor Godhole's choir. As Minister of Education, he gained this special honour when the previous group of singers dispersed into the crowd. He pressed forward from the back, already in full voice that the

chain of sacred sounds might be uninterrupted. He was barefoot and in white, he wore a pale blue turban; his gold pince-nez had caught in a jasmine garland, and lay sideways down his nose. He and the six colleagues who supported him clashed their cymbals, hit small drums, droned upon a portable harmonium, and sang:

"Tukaram, Tukaram,
Thou art my father and mother and everybody"[41].

Individual words and expressions like "assembly," "crooning" and the admission "in a tender, happy state unknown to an English crowd"—may seem insignificant but they express to a certain degree the observations of an outsider. And the lines following it further confirm our supposition: "They sang not even to the God who confronted them, but to a saint; they did not one thing, which the non-Hindu would feel dramatically correct; this approaching triumph of India was a muddle (as we call it), a frustration of reason and form".[42]

A similar ceremony looks quite different in R. K. Narayan's rendering. The printer Nataraj is the only one in the whole town of Malgudi who knows that taxidermist Vasu is planning to kill the temple elephant Kumar during the religious procession at night. The recounting of events in the novel is given in the person of agitated Nataraj who is worried about the life of the holy animal:

"It was four o'clock when I managed to reach the temple at Vinayak Street. Men, women and children thronged the street and the courtyard of the temple. Sen (a journalist— E.K.) had put up a few bamboo barriers here so that the crowd might allow some space for the Mayor and his entourage. He had dressed himself in a dhoti at his waist and had wrapped a red silk upper cloth around his shoulders, and his forehead was blazoned with sacred ash, sandal-paste, and vermilion. He was nearly unrecognizable in his holy make-up.

"The back portion of the temple was filled with smoke arising from the enormous cooking going on. A number of the temple priests were busy in the inner sanctum, decorating the God and lighting oil lamps. Kumar (the elephant —E.K.) was chained to a peg at the end of the temple corridor, under a tree. A crowd of children watched him, and he was briskly reducing to fiber lengths of sugar cane they held out to him. The mahout from Top Slip was perched on his back, painting his forehead in white, red and green floral patterns, to the huge delight of the children...

"I was obsessed with plans to save the lives of these people who had come out for enjoyment: little girls had dressed themselves in bright skirts, women wore their jewelry and flowers in their hair, and men had donned their best shirts and bush-coats and dhotis and silk. Most of them were going to perish in a stampede tonight as the elephant rushed about madly...

"The God (Krishna—E.K.) was beautifully decorated. He wore a rose garland, and a diamond pendant sparkled on his chest. He had been draped in silk and gold lace, and he held a flute in his hand; and his little bride, a golden image draped in blue silk and sparkling with diamonds was at his side... The piper was blowing his cheeks out, filling the air with 'Kalyani Rag, 'a melody that created a lovely attunement at this hour...

"The story of Krishna and Radha was now being recited in song form by a group of men, incoherently and cacophonously . . .

"The sight of the God, the sound of music, the rhythm of cymbals, and the scent of jasmine and incense induced in me a temporary indifference to all matters. Elephant? Who could kill an elephant? There came to my mind the tale of the elephant Gajedra, the elephant of mythology who stepped into a lake and had his leg caught in the jaws of a mighty crocodile; and the elephant trumpeted helplessly, struggled, and in the end desperately called on Vishnu, who immediately appeared an gave him the strength to come ashore out of the jaws of the crocodile . . . And so, I told myself, our ancestors have shown us that an elephant has a protected life an that no one can harm it. I felt lighter at heart. When the time came the elephant would find the needed strength. The priest was circling the camphor light before the golden images, and the reflections on the faces made them vibrate with a living quality; this God Krishna was really an incarnation of Vishnu, who had saved Gajendra; he would again come to the rescue of the same animal".[43]

The difference between the two descriptions is obvious. And not only because Narayan described everything with greater knowledge and insight. Even the description of god Krishna and the digression regarding the legend of the mythical elephant Gajendra are not determinating, though taken all together they do create a national mood in the recounting. The gist of the matter is what embodies the given writer's ideological and aesthetic ideal. The essence lies in the author's inner attitude towards the entire object of his portrayal. While the Indian town in Fortster's novel "seems made of mud" and the inhabitants of Chandropore seem nothing more than "mud moving"[44] and everything that meets the eye is humble and dull, the inhabitants of Malgudi in Marayan's work evoke one's warmth and sympathy.

"The secret of a people's nationality", V. Belinsky wrote, "lies not in its clothing or cuisine but in its, so to say, manner of understanding things. To correctly portray any society one must first comprehend its essence, its peculiarity —and the only way that can be achieved is by actually learning, and philosophically assessing the sum total of rules governing and upholding that society."[45] It is this qualitx of being able to penetrate into the essence of things that Narayan, Anand and Bhattacharya fully possess, and can hence express in their works the innermost depth and pulse of their native society's life. The throbbing of the country's political pulse can be one of the signs revealing the innermost life of India. We'll quote fragments from descriptions of two episodes in the national-liberation struggle of the Indian people given in the novels of a British and an Indian author. Here is how a demonstration of Indians struggling against British rule looks in John Masters' novel. Victoria from "Bhowani Junction" mentioned earlier, first hears the drum beat which announces to her the beginning of the demonstration:

"The music went boom-boom-bom-boomty-bomty-bom. If there was a tune, I (Victoria Johnes—E.K.) did not recognize it and the rhythm was jumpty and eccentric.

"Music"!—Patrick said. "It is more like cats caterwauling."

Wishing to get a closer look at the demonstration, Victoria runs out into the street and finds herself right next to the demonstators. The column is headed by an acquaintance of Victoria's—Mr. Surabhai . . . "Mr. Surabhai carried

a huge Congress flag. Today his suspenders were blue and his socks yellow. His eyes flashed, and he marched like a soldier sticking out his chest and throwing his feet forward so that the brown and white co-respondent shoes twinkled. As he marched he shouted, 'Jai Hind!'[46] and, 'Long live our brothers the sailors !'[47]. Two policemen marched on each side of him, their brass buttons flashing and the brass tips of their lathis swinging steadily on their shoulders. There were other policement down the sides of the procession, eight or ten in all. There were a couple of hundred people in the procession itself with a forest of placards and flags. The people watching it all were crowded in the gutters and in the shops, clapping their hands.

"As I passed the Blue Lane turning I saw down there the head of the other procession. That one too had music and banners but its banners were dark green and lettered in white; in the Arabic script that looks so beautifully curved and graceful, and they only forty or fifty marchers with five police." Hope arises among the crowd of Indians surrounding Victoria that the two processions will merge and 'show that all Indians are united in this struggle.' The police tried to stop the Congressional demonstrators but Mr. Surabhai "dodged them, hopping about like a dancer, while his followers surged round and past."

"The Moslem procession had stopped where it was supposed to turn. Its hand was playing and its leader haranguing it, his back to Mr. Surabhai and the Congress men as they dashed on toward him."

"I was soaring with excited laughter—it was really very funny. The crowd was laughing. It was coming off exactly right-not with any beastly violence but just making the British and the police look foolish".

"Now !" Mrs Sirdarni said in my ear. I scrambled up on a table and stood on tiptoe to see over the crowd. The two processions met.

"Mr. Surabhai flung his arms found the leader of the Moslems. The big Congress flag hovered and swept down and round, Mr. Surabhai made such large generous movements. The top of the pole hit the Moslem League banner, which a man with spectacles was carrying immediately behind the Moslem leader. The Congress flag knocked the Moslem League flag down. Both flags fell into the dirt. The other man's spectacles were knocked off."

Mr. Surabhai stood back and flung out his arms. I heard him cry, his voice cracked with emotion "We are brothers for freedom !"

"A terrific shouting began. A lemonade bottle flashed in the sun and hit Mr. Surabhai on the side of the head. Somebody shouted, "They are trampling on our flag !" Mr. Surabhai and the Moslem stopped to pick up the flags. They fell or were pushed. They disappeared, and the shouting suddenly changed pitch. Green flags mingled with striped flags, Arabic with English; sticks and stones flew, and an awful roaring filled the lane."[48]

Seen through the eyes of Victoria, an outside observer, the scene is portrayed rather offstandishly mocking, with a touch of sarcasm. Suffice it to recall the reference to discordant Indian music, Mr. Surabhai's tasteless garb, the comic side of the meeting between the two processions and, finally, the Indian flags trampled in the mud and the leaders of the national movement thrown to the ground.

Narayan's depiction of the inhabitants of Malgudi and their participation in the national-liberation struggle against the aliens is quite different: "About two thousand citizens of Malgudi assembled on the right bank of Sarayu to protest against the arrest of Gauri Sankar, a prominent political worker of Bombay. An earnest looking man clad in khaddar stood on a woodern platform and addressed the gathering. In a high piercing voice, he sketched the life and achievements of Gauri Sankar; and after that passed on to generalities: "We are slaves today", he shrieked, "worse slaves than we have ever been before. Let us remember our heritage. Have we forgotten the glorious periods of Ramayana and Mahabharata? This is the country that has given the world a Kalidasa, a Buddha, a Sankara. Our ships sailed the high seas and we had reached the height of civilization when the Englishmen ate raw flesh and wandered in the jungles, nude. But now what are we? We are slaves of slaves . . . Just think for a while. We are three hundred and thirty six millions, and our land is as big as Europe minus Russia. England is no bigger than our Madras Presidency and is inhabited by a handful of white rogues and is thousands of miles away. Yet we bow in homage before the Englishman! Why we became, through no fault of our own, docile and timid? It is the bureaucracy that has made us so by intimidation and starvation. You need not do more. Let every Indian spit on England, and the quantity of saliva will be enough to drown England . . ."[49]

The orator continued a long time and concluded his speech with an appeal "to boycott English goods, especially Lancashire and Manchester cloth, as the owners of those mills had cut off the thumbs of the weavers of Dacca muslin, for which India was famous at one time . . . A great cry burst from the crowd: "Bharat Mata ki Jai!" And then there were cries of "Gandhi ki Jai!" After that came a kind of mournful "national" song. The evening's programme closed with a bonfire of foreign cloth."[50]

We thus see in Narayan's description, which is also not devoid of irony, much more sympathy towards the Indians. One senses his genuine knowledge of Indian environment and an insight into the Indian "manner of understanding things." That is why we are not surprised to read Graham Greene's admission that "It was Mr. Narayan . . . who first brought India, in the sense of the Indian population and the Indian way of life, alive to me . . .".[51] Those words evoked a response in an article by Shiv K. Kumar, an Indian literary critic, who began as follows: "Graham Greene, in this introduction to Narayan's first novel. "The Bachelor of Arts," expresses theeagerness of Westernreaders to read about Real India (with a capital "R"), and not the India which has been a mere literary region of mystery, of strange spiritual quests, of superstitions, of jungle advantures—a Kim here or Fielding there, an anglicised Sri Ganesh in Maugham's novel "The Razor's Edge," or John Masters' latest literary effusion "Bhowani Junction"". Such fiction only evokes in the minds of Western readers vague scenes of "an hysterical woman in a cave, adultery at Simla, greased cartridges, heroic Gurkhas advancing to the drums of the Fore and Aft, mutinies on barrack squares . . . "But Indian writers have now done a great deal in lifting the veil off this mysterious India."[52]

Shiv Kumar in conclusion says that "the Indian novelist using the medium of English has much commendable writing in his credit. To him must be given the credit for counteracting the false picture of India painted by Kipling and his disciples."[53] These words of the Indian critic are to our mined a confirmation

of the fact that Indian literature in English is linked with the peculiarities of historical development, with the national culture of the country, and is developing within Indian literature's general current.

NOTES :

1 See E. F. Oaten, *A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature*, London, 1908, Bh. Singh, *A Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction*, London, 1934.

2 See K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Indo-Anglian Literature*, Bombay, 1943; P. Lal and K. R. Rao, *Modern Indo-Anglian Poetry*, New Delhi, 1959.

3 See G. Sampson, *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 914-915.

4 G. Th. Garratt, *The Legacy of India*, London, 1951, p. 411-421.

5 A. R. Wadia, *The Future of English in India*, Bombay, 1956, p. 130; also see his Impact of English on Indian Life,—"*Aryan Path*", Vol. 34, 1963, N 10, p. 456. M. R. Anand and S. K. Iyengar adhere to an opposite view, advocating the national character of Indian English-language literature (see M. R. Anand, *The King Emperor's English*, Bombay, 1948, p. 19; K. R. S. Iyengar, *Indian Writing in English*, Bombay, 1962, p. 15).

6 N. Djusoity, *On the National Language and National Style*,—magazine *Friendship of Peoples*, 1957, N 12, p. 179.

7 G. Gachev, *On National Pictures of the World*,—Asian and African Peoples, 1967, N 1, p. 78.

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21 J. Masters, Bhowani Junction, New York, 1954, p. 51.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 265.

27 *Ibid.*, dust-jacket.

28 E. M. Forster, *A Passage to India*, Penguin books, London, 1957, p. 70.

[29] *Ibid*, pp. 244-245. It is of interest to note that since Englishmen represented the power of the British king who had enslaved the Indian people, Indian English-language writers in their works usually depicted them negatively : Professor Brown in Narayan's *The Bachelor of Arts*; plantation manager Croft-Cooke and his assistant Regie Hune in Anand's *'Two leaves and a Bud'* ; factory owner White and manager Little in Anand's *'Coolie'*. However among M. R. Anand's positive characters we find not only Indians, but Englishmen too. The struggle of workers in *'Coolie'* is headed by Indian (Saud and Masaffar) and British (Stanley Jackson) communists; portrayals of progressive physicians, humanists, include John de la Havre, a Britisher, in *'Two Leaves and a Bud'*, and Indians, Mahendra in Gauri and Hari Sahankdar in the *'Private Life of an Indian Prince'*.

[30] R. Kipling, *The Second Jungle Book*, New York, 1899, p. 27.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
[33] R. K. Narayan, *The Guide*, Mysore, 1958, p. 213.
[34] See C. D. Narasimhaya, *The Guide*,—The Literary Criterion, 1961, N 4, p. 85.
[35] G. D. Gachev, *op. cit.* p. 78.
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"LECTURES" OF NAZIR AHMAD AS A SOURCE FOR STUDY OF INDIAN ENLIGHTENMENT

A. Sukhochev

Recent researches, carried out by Indian as well as Soviet literary critics, have manifestly shown that works of the greatest Indian writers and poets, writing in Urdu, took shape in the course of Enlightenment. The legacy of Muslim enlighteners of North India is wide-ranging in its ideological relations—from the more radical views of A. H. Hali and Shibli Noumani to extremely careful, and in some respects even conservative views of Nazir Ahmad. It is possible to understand these differences and to define the individual position of these writers in the Urdu literature of the second half of the 19th century, which had entered a new stage of its development, only after a careful study of all the literary heritage of these authors. In this study, special attention must be paid to various articles of the enlighteners, mainly to the numerous articles by Sayed Ahmad Khan, the articles and reviews by A. H. Hali, many historico-publicistic essays by Shibli Noumani and Abdul Halim Sharar, and the "lectures" by Nazir Ahmad. In this paper an attempt will be made to put forth the ideas having the nature of Enlightenment, expressed by Nazir Ahmad in his celebrated "lectures". To some extent they will be compared with the views of other enlighteners, especially with those of the inspirer of the Aligarh movement for Enlightenment, Sayed Ahmad Khan.

Nazir Ahmad (1836-1912) was a famous prose-writer of Urdu and an author of the first novels which appeared in that language. After retiring from government service, he delivered a number of lectures at various meetings and conferences of different Muslim societies and organizations. Like other enlighteners he strove to spread widely his own views, tried to utilize every opportunity of addressing his more influential compatriots, and constantly looked for contacts with people having similar views, or with the people, whom he considered to be important enough to persuade them to his way of thinking.

These lectures were published and republished. For the first time a collection of his speeches was published by Faziuddin, a Lahore book-dealer and publisher, but only a small part of the author's speeches was included into this collection.

The next publication was brought out by Nazir Hussain, a Delhi book-dealer. In the first volume, which came out in 1892, 13 lectures (read from 1888 to June, 1892) were included, then appeared the second volume which also contained 13 lectures (read by Nazir Ahmad from 1895 to June, 1898). Besides, 18 of his speeches were printed from time to time in various publications. At last in 1918, Nazir Ahmad's son prepared a new publication of the "Lectures" of his father[1]. In this publication (which is used for writing this article), all the 44 lectures are included, comprising the time from October, 1888 to December, 1905, i.e. a period of about seventeen years.

The accuracy of the dates used in the lectures allows us to speak with more than usual confidence about the author's views, and makes it possible to follow

the change in his attitude towards Sayed Ahmad, which is especially interesting in connection with the divergence of their views on the value of Islam and its role in the contemporary society.

Most of the lectures were read by Nazir Ahmad at the three societies and institutions, quite famous in those days: at the annual meetings of the Society for Defence of Islam (14 lectures), at the annual sessions of Muhammadan Educational Conference (founded in 1885, known till 1889 as Muhammadan Educational Congress and then renamed in Muhammadan Educational Conference) —13 lectures were read there, and in the Delhi Medical School (later College) —9 lectures delivered.

The main aim of Nazir Ahmad's speeches was to attract the attention of influential Muslims to the ideas, propagated by Sayed Ahmad Khan and other well-known leaders of the Muslim community, inclined towards the modernization of Islam and the Muslim society, to induce them to make donations for the benefit of a few already existing educational institutions such as schools, Aligarh College, Delhi Medical College, Lahore Islamic College, and some newspapers published by educationalists as well as to create funds for founding similar new educational institutions. Being a matchless orator, Nazir Ahmad was able to make an impact on the minds of his influential listeners and often achieved results, while the appeals of his other colleagues were like voices in the wilderness. That is why, in accordance with the request of Sayed Ahmad, Nazir Ahmad delivered speeches at almost every annual meeting of the organizations and societies mentioned above.

The leading idea of all the speeches of the venerable writer, was an appeal to his compatriots to master the knowledge achieved by the modern science. Naturally, under such an approach the European science came to the forefront as the most developed one and having to its credit many achievements in all spheres of life. Nazir Ahmad had an unlimited belief in the might of science, which, in his opinion, was the main means of educating the society. With this approach to science, as to the strongest lever in the mechanism of a radical reorientation of the traditional Indian society, and mainly of his own religious community, Nazir Ahmad became the closest companion-in-arms of Sayed Ahmad, that indefatigable propagator of education as a means of overcoming the backwardness of his people.

It must be noted that towards the end of the 80's, when Nazir Ahmad started delivering his speeches, British rule in India had strengthened considerably. Thirty years had passed after the Indian national uprising of 1857-1859. During these years even the most inveterate conseravatives, who had been earlier sure of the stability of feudal institutions, now became convinced of the many advantages which the Europeans, with their scientific progress, had over the peoples of the East, the peoples left behind due to a number of historical reasons. At that time there appeared many articles in the press for spreading education but everyone understood this task in his own way, and everyone defended his personal point of view.

Voices calling for the introduction of general education were heard. In this connection, Nazir Ahmad said in February, 1890: "Even if one did not depend solely on the efforts of the government, the missionaries or the individual reformers, but combined the aspirations of all the muslims themselves, even then this task will not be fulfilled. Even in Europe, whose level we aspire to achieve,

the number of literates does not exceed thirty-five percent. It is doubtful if we will achieve this level in the next 100 years" (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 187). Hence he came to a practical conclusion: it was not worth-while to build castles in the air and to delude oneself with vain hopes, but it was necessary to be realistic and to strive to disseminate education in more modest proportions conforming to the existing possibilities, while achieving a standard of education not lower than that of the European one.

The one-sided development of educational system in India always bothered Nazir Ahmad. He saw that all available educational institutions were orientated only towards preparing officials for the colonial state machinery. This coincided with the aims of the Britishers. But the majority of Indians themselves, who entered colleges, dreamt only of the post of a collector, or deputy commissioner, judge, advocate, inspector of police or at least a senior clerk in some office. Nazir Ahmad saw that if the attitude of the Indians towards other jobs and professions (very much necessary for long-term development of the country) did not change, and until the Indians were not convinced that the people in no less a measure require doctors, teachers, engineers and scientists, or if they were not given an opportunity to master these specializations, then soon the very idea of education would be compromised, because in the near future all the clerical and official posts would be occupied and the college graduates will have no work. While noting the comparitively high development of the humanities in India even before the arrival of the British, and while admitting the fact that India and the East generally gave celebrated philosophers, logicians, grammarians, theologians and poets, Nazir Ahmad points out at the same time, that he never heard of an Indian who had invented something, or had found useful mineral deposits, or had improved the breed of cattle, or had studied and explained the uselessness and harmfulness of many old customs, or had said a word of the role of hygiene, or had brought any other benefits to the people (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 66).

Much more complex is Nazir Ahmad's attitude towards the British colonial authorities. On the one hand, the English are the bearers of a higher culture and it is necessary to learn from them and to make use of their experience. Nazir Ahmad understands this experience in a very wide sense, including not only natural sciences, but also the sphere of industrial relations, the means of production and all the spheres of the people's life. It is necessary to learn all these things from the Europeans and to make use of their achievements for the betterment of the lives of the Indian people and above all of the Muslim community. Admitting the facts of the British rule and their robbing India, Nazir Ahmad drew the attention of his compatriots to the nature of this rule. He said: "The relations between us are like the relations between a dying man and leeches, who are sucking his blood. The dying man is Hindustan, blood is her riches and the leeches are the Europans. But never imagine that the Britishers are taking away our wealth by force. They use commerce, imports and exports for this purpose. The main feature of this commerce is that we are the buyers and they are the sellers. It is true that they take away also a great deal from India, but not the manufactured goods, only the raw material. The Britishers have taken commerce in their hands, like a lion, who having killed the prey, himself eats the delicious titbits and leaves the leftovers to the jackals" (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 65).

The quotation cited here, like many others, shows that Nazir Ahmad understood very well the mechanism of the colonial pillage of India by the English,

and while calling upon his compatriots to understand the working of this mechanism, he strove to narrow down the sphere of its activity, tried to put commerce and the development of trade relations connected with it to the service of his own Muslim community, and tried to make use of the bourgeois institutions which were newly sprouting in India, and whose ideologists were Muslim enlighteners, to restrict the spheres of rule of the English colonialists.

Speaking on 27th of April, 1898 at the funeral meeting in Delhi dedicated to the memory of Sayed Ahmad Khan, Nazir Ahmad put to the credit of the deceased the fact, that "....he was the first to understand that India is a river in which live crayfish—Indians, as well as crocodiles—the Britishers. He taught the fish how to survive while living in the same river with the crocodiles" (Lectures, Vol. II, p. 242). These words of Sayed Ahmad, which Nazir Ahmad quotes with great sympathy and encouragement, in the best way characterize his stand. British are crocodiles, an unavoidable evil which has to be reckoned with. If one wants to live and survive, then one must get used to them, learn from them, and fight them with their own weapons, i.e. a higher standard of science and culture and a more progressive social structure. Consequently, it is necessary to fight all conservative vestiges, customs and traditions which stand in the way of the new social institutions; and to activly clear all the impediments of the past from the way to progress. Hence the criticism of various customs and the feudal traditions. Nazir Ahmad particularly strongly opposed the retention of hereditary titles of Rajas, Nabobs, Raises and so on. He felt, that the titles may be retained, not as hereditary privileges, but as an award to individual persons (irrespective of their parentage) for concrete service to people, and without the right of bestowing it hereditarily. "Only those people should be noted by their ranks, grades and titles who have contributed to the development of trade, industry and education. Only real services, and not old titles, should give one a right to honour and respect" (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 330). Nazir Ahmad exhibits the difference between the conceited, inert and inactive feudal elite, which was moving away from all constructive activity and was living parasitically on people's organism, and the active and enterprising people of the new structure, possessing a practical sense and a tenacious grasp of the bourgeois. These views expressed almost eighty years ago, have not lost their significance even in modern India, whose progressive forces are carrying on the struggle for the abolition of the feudal privileges of the ex-princes.

A person's value lies not in his class affiliations, for his place in life given to him hereditarily, but in his personality. Nazir Ahmad, like other enlighteners in the East as well as the West, in his lectures and artistic works showed deep interest in the moral world of man, his own contemporary. It already became clear to the writer that the moral convictions of a man, his faults and virtues are not hereditary, coming to him along with wealth and titles, and that the existing conditions of life have an effect on their formation. The spontaneous arrival at such a conclusion opened wide prospects for the formation of educational concepts of the enlighteners, which clearly appeared in Nazir Ahmad's novels.

In December 1891, at the sixth annual session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, while referring the question of competition with the English in the fields of commerce and growing industry, in which some social workers saw the path to freedom from the British rule, Nazir Ahmad said:—"Competition is a good thing. But one must prepare for it persistently. Otherwise

competing with the Europeans now is like competing with an elephant, as to the one who eats more sugar-cane" (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 258).

Year after year, Nazir Ahmad persistently preached a gradual and evolutionary way of development, appealed for a gradual and steadfast accumulation of strength, for the adoption of the achievements of Western science and culture, and for a skilful use of these with a view of bringing the level of cultural and social development of the Indian people closer to those of the Europeans. In this respect, he was much more cautious and careful than Hali and Shibli, who sometimes passed very critical remarks about the English. However, these differences have more of a quantitative than qualitative character. In their main features, all of them are alike—all of them are for liberal reforms, the leading role in which play science and education, sharp criticism of traditional institutions and moderate criticism of the British rule.

Having given a meaning to the main trends of development of the Indian society in the period after 1857—1859, the Muslim englighteners could not leave untouched the questions of religion and its corelation with science. Their views differed most in this field. If Sayed Ahmad Khan appealed for a study of religion and its adaptation in relation to the laws of nature and reason, which, in a number of cases, brought him close to the denial of the divine origin of religion itself, then Nazir Ahmad till his very death considered himself to be a faithful Muslim, a Suni. However paradoxical it may be, to the conservative Ulemas, both of them, notwithstanding their sharp mutual criticism, looked alike. Both of them were declared to be unbelievers in the fatwahs of the Ulemas. Sayed Ahmad started being called "Natury" ("From nature"), and considered his followers to be a special caste bordering on atheism. Nazir Ahmad was 'ex-communicated' for the publication of a theological treatise in which he denounced some saying of the prophet Mohammad on the questions of polygamy. By a verdict of the Ulemas, Nazir Ahmad's book was burnt. Probably this was the first instance in India of destruction of a book because of the verdict of spiritual censors.

In time Nazir Ahmad's views on religion changed substantially. If in the first of his lectures he positively dissociates himself from Sayed Ahmad Khan's free-thinking on the questions of belief, on his understanding of many dogmas of Islam, while at the same time actively supporting all that Sayed Ahmad had started in connection with reforms in the temporal life of the Muslim community, then by 1894 he had already stated that he accepted the basic tenets of Sayed Ahmad's teachings, and that there was just one thing in which he differed from the "naturalists", i.e., Sayed Ahmad's followers,—this thing was that even in the sphere of spiritual life they put science and knowledge in the first place, whereas he gave the priority to religion (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 573).

In the lecture read on the 25th of February, 1890 in Lahore at the Conference of Society for the Defence of Islam, Nazir Ahmad extensively proved that all the life of society was governed by three equally great forces—government (administration), religion and established traditions, and that all of them influenced equally the material as well as spiritual life of the people (Lectures, Vol.II, p. 188). In this assertion was contained a hidden polemic against the Ulemas, who considered religion to be the most important social institution, which defined the functioning of all the rest of the social forces. More than that, in the same lecture Nazir Ahmad declared that religion was not to interfere in

the temporal affairs, and that its activity had to be restricted only to the field of the people's morals. On these grounds, Nazir Ahmad, if he is to be judged by his earlier speeches, arrives at a completely unexpected conclusion. If religion has to restrict its field of activities to sermons of kindness and healthy moral relations, then it will occupy the same position in the society, as any other doctrine. Hence follows that not only Islam, but all other religions are the 'true' ones, and that the Muslims should not criticize any one of them, and should learn tolerance and respect of the convictions of other religious communities. These arguments of his, Nazir Ahmad illustrates with the help of professor Ram Chandra, who had converted to Christianity, and critically evaluates the position of those, who had vehemantly attacked Ram Chandra in connection with that act (Lectures, Vol. II, p. 200). Nazir Ahmad's appeal for tolerance was extremely topical at that time, considering the ever-increasing Hindu-Muslim clashes, and was the logical development of the idea of enlightenment about the human value of the individual irrespective of his class or religious affiliations.

Nazir Ahmad, who was known for his theological works, under the influence of the ideology of the enlighteners, with which be became acquainted directly from European sources, and indirectly through the works of the Aligarh movement authors (especially Sayed Ahmad Khan), came completely to repudiate the necessity of religious education in schools and colleges. In December 1894, Nazir Ahmad said: "That condition would be the ideal one, when religion will not concern itself at all with the worldly affairs' (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 547). In another place he says about religion: "It has been historically testified, that religion is the most cruel tyrant" (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 303). In accordance with these views, Nazir Ahmad persistently demands implementation of reforms in secular and religious education. According to him, in schools and colleges there should be no special disciplines studying theological questions, but all religious questions may be interspersed in general education courses in "homoeophathic doses". In the schools of the old type themselves ('madrasas' and 'maktabs') where education basically amounted to learning by heart a number of religious compositions, such subjects as geography and history must be taught (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 365). This will give the students themselves an opportunity to understand the historical causes of the appearance of religion and to correctly evaluate its role in the social life.

From a number of statements of Nazir Ahmad on the questions of religion, stipulated by the audience which he addressed ("Society for the Defence of Islam" etc.), it may be concluded that, while remaining a faithful believer, the author still considered it essential to subject many of the dogmas of Islam to an examination, to test them on the touchstone of science and to illuminate with the light of reason. The particular scepsis in respect of the unquestionable tenets would, for a faithful Muslim, appear to be a striving not to trust blindly, but to find a rational explanation of a phenomenon or to reject it as one contradicting reason and the scientific outlook of the modern author. All this is characteristic of the enlighteners in general and of Nazir Ahmad in particular.

Nazir Ahmad gives an extremely original interpretation—though subordinated to the whole concept of Indian approach to Western science—to the understanding of "Jehad" ("The holy war"). According to Shariat, territory of a country may be considered either as a "land of Islam" ("dar ul-Islam") or as "hostile territory" ("dar ul-kharb"). In adapting themselves to the realities of India, where the British conquerers—"the unbelievers"—became the masters,

the Vahhabi ulemas declared the country to be a "hostile territory", and the Muslims were bound to carry on a struggle with the conquerers. Taking into consideration the actual interrelation of forces and striving to divert the anti-English trend of "Jehad", Nazir Ahmad started saying, that the world "Jehad" must never be understood literally, and that it was not a war in literal sense, but any struggle for the improvement of the lives of the Muslims. At the present historical moment, the struggle for assimilating the European science, culture and education may be included in the understanding of "Jehad". Nazir Ahmad writes—"I know that the orthodox ulemas will criticize such an understanding, but I personally see in it a blessing for the Muslims" (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 170). Using religious argument, which ultimately undermined the foundations of religion (and which Nazir Ahmad himself admitted more than once) for supporting and encouraging the development of education and science, was a fine and brilliant move of the writer.

A lot of space in the speeches of the writer is given to his reflections on the topics like the reasons of the backwardness of the Oriental peoples, the social stagnation, the unevenness of the pace of development of various religious and national groups, the conservatism of the traditional Muslim society and the ways of removing this socio-economical, political and cultural backwardness. In this connection he repeatedly draws attention to the activities of Sayed Ahmad Khan, and from the middle of the, 90s often refers to A. H. Hali, Shibli Noumani, Vakar-ul-Mulk and other writers and journalists connected with the Aligarh movement.

Thus, he considered as the greatest service of Sayed Ahmad to the people the fact that he was the first to speak about the backwardness of the Muslims, and to point out the only possible way in the historical circumstances of removing this backwardness. Nazir Ahmad says that even before Sayed Ahmad there were famous scholars, religious reformers and social workers, and that one should not consider creation of Aligarh College, the "Science society" and the "Mohammedan Educational Conference", as his only services to the Muslim society. All these are significant services, but they only serve the principal aim of Sayed Ahmad's and many of his followers' whole life. That aim was to do away with the conceited feudal elite and the conservative ulemas, and to convince them that the Indians (and especially the Muslim community) have been left far behind the other peoples in their development. And if the diagnosis is correct, it is easier to start the treatment of the patient. In the poem, which Nazir Ahmad read during his lecture on the 23rd June, 1889, the writer speaks about the backwardness of his people, about its past greatness, he says that no doctor can treat a nation, if it is careless of its own health:

I will tell you a sad tale —
There are many ways of the decline of a people,
If a nation resigns itself to its humiliations,
It is already a sign of the fall.
How can a most gifted doctor help a patient
Who does not look after himself ?
If the nation is its own enemy,
Then it considers its big faults to be only small streams.

Our stupid acts
Have led us to misfortune.

We have started being ashamed of handicrafts
Of which earlier we were proud
But indeed at some time we were rich and independent,
We were a free people.
We were strong in sciences and wisdom,
Others were pupils and masters were we,
We preserved the arts of all times,
And were praised for reason we,
And others only shook by our discoveries —
(Lectures, Vol. I, p. 176)

It would appear that the ascertainment of backwardness, of the adherence of the people of North India to all that was old, and the exposure of ignorance, was superfluous, since the facts which corroborate the lagging behind in social and cultural development lie on the surface. However, it seems so only on a modern restrospective evaluation of incidents almost a century old. In those conditions, as Nazir Ahmad correctly concludes, such statements had as the aim, the radical breaking of the psychology of the Muslims, who not very long ago had been the ruling community in the country, and demanded an extraordinary courage. Closely connected with the criticism of backwardness and ignorance, was the principle of "self-help", moved by Sayed Ahmad and warmly supported by Nazir Ahmad, A. H. Hali and other enlighteners. The enlighteners openly said, that the Indians hoped for help but no one would render them help except themselves, and that one should never set hopes on the Britishers for this, since they were interested in conservation of old traditions, ignorance, backwardness, reactionary social institutions and so on (Lectures, Vol. I, pp. 428—429). Thus the Indian enlighteners, while appealing to their compatriots to preserve their loyalty to the British in the political field, aspiring to work with them in the government offices, at the same time distinctly realized that the interests of the colonizers and of the people enslaved by them, were radically diverse, that their cooperation was only of a temporary and tactical character, that in perspective their interests would move apart, and that it was necessary to prepare for this and to preserve strength. The appeal for self-help, which Sayed Ahmad had taken from the teachings of English enlighteners, objectively served to consolidate new forces, which subsequently took active part in the national freedom struggle. Progressive ideas, expressed in the pages of Addison and Steele's journal "Spectator" and in the articles of Mill, Samuel Smiles, and other English publicists and scholars, which were adapted by Sayed Ahmad and his followers, according to Indian conditions, served the cause of progress of Indian society.

Nazir Ahmad had his own concept of social development, although it was not clearly formulated anywhere in one place. While in every lecture touching upon questions of religion and while admitting the unconditional authority of Quaran and other religious books, Nazir Ahmad at the same time admitted the objective nature of the development of society, and considered that there was a specific pace in the development of various social periods, which would not be stopped, materially slowed down or speeded up, not only by an individual personality but also by any nation. The aim of the people who care about the progress of the people, should be a correct definition of this pace of development. They must try to prepare their people in such a way that it developed in accord with this pace, neither falling behind, nor running ahead, since either

of them can prove to be equally disastrous to the individual himself as well as to the people as a whole (Lectures, Vol. I, pp. 371—372). An experienced orator and a talented author who had written a number of novels in Urdu, Nazir Ahmad loved to have recourse in his Lectures to graphic comparisons and parables, anecdotes and funny incidents of his life which illustrated some of the positions taken by him. The idea of the necessity of keeping up with the time, he illustrated with the help of two examples, about one of which he heard in his youth, and the second one he experienced himself.

The first one is the well-known anecdote about the Lucknow courtesy. At the end of the 50's of the last century, passenger communication was opened on the recently constructed railway line between Allahabad and Fatehpur. Two residents of Lucknow were waiting for the train for a few hours at the station. But when the train came, both of them started giving way to each other, thinking it discourteous to enter the train first. And thus the friends wrangled with each other till the train had gone, after which their ostentatious courtesy was blown to winds, and the friends who had only recently appeared to be examples of upbringing and gallantry started quarrelling and started showering each other with choice curses.

The second incident, says Nazir Ahmad, has no such comic element like the first one, and is rather of a tragic nature. Again in those years, on one of the first journeys on a railway, they saw a herd of cattle sitting on the track while the train was moving. Hearing the whistles of the engine and the terrible din made by the wagons, the herd started running helter-shelter, but one bull bravely hurled himself at the engine and was, naturally, crushed. Another started running with all his strength on the track, but could not compete with the speed of the machine and also perished under the wheels. Nazir Ahmad concludes: the train is the symbol of our period, and the heed of bullock is us, the people. If we do not recognise the march of the times, and try to compete with it or overtake it, we will be mercilessly crushed and will perish under the wheels of history. March of history is a mill, and woe to one who falls in its millstones. It we are careless, like the courteous friends of Lucknow, we also will be hopelessly left behind, away from progress, away from progressive development of society, like Lucknowites in the anecdote (Lectures, Vol. I, pp. 371—374).

To move in step with the demands of the time, not to be left behind, to learn from other people all that is useful—this is the only way which will allow the people to survive and to stand on the same level, on which the more developed peoples of Europe now stand.

In his lectures Nazir Ahmad gives a comparatively small place to artistic literature, aesthetics, and the evaluation of the place of literature in peoples' lives. Here the words of G. V. Plekhanov about the Russian enlighteners may be fully applied to him: "An enlightener is not at war with art, but he also does not have an unconditional bias towards it. He generally does not have any bias towards anything, except towards his great and single aim: spreading healthy ideas in the Society". But even those rare appraisals, which the Indian enlightener has made of various literary facts and phenomena, are extraordinarily valuable to us and allow us to define his attitude towards classics—both Indian and foreign—and contemporary literature.

Nazir Ahmad's maximum dicta are about Persian poetry. Quite correctly pointing out the generic connection between the Urdu poetry and the medieval

Persian poetry, Nazir Ahmad feels that all that was negative—alienation from life, formalism, magnification of purely intimate themes diversed of any social significance—came from Persian poetry and led to the particular stagnation in the development of the majority of Oriental literatures. "I feel, from the point of view of contents and ideas, threre is no literature in the world, worse than the one in Farsi language. It has destroyed the tastes so much, that we have completely stopped believing in reality, and believe only in fabrication and fantasy" (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 58).

At the same time on a number of occasions he sympathetically quotes the poetry of Saadi, Rumi and Firdousi, i.e. he values the traditional Persian poetry in its higher classical examples. Only the works of the epigones of the great classics give rise to the negation.

Characterizing the Urdu poetry upto the second half of 19th century, Nazir Ahmad, like a true rationalist looks at its educational function, social significance and its influence on the minds of the poeple. It is quite natural that he came to an unfavourable conclusion that the poetry was guilty of giving birth to illusions amongst the people and of weaning them away from thinking realistically and concretely. During the course of the centuries it taught lies and complacency, it taught people to look for beauty in fantastic stories about magicians, virgins, "paris" and 'djins' and in the romantic love of beautiful princes and princesses, and not in the beauty of life and in the real events. A change to description of the lives of real people in all its worldly concreteness—in this alone can be and must be the true renovation of literature. By taking this path alone, can the poets and writers, according to Nazir Ahmad, truly serve their people, and literature will fully become a powerfull weapon of reconstruction of life tenor.

Such was in general the attitude of the writer towards the foregoing literary traditions.

Amongst the Urdu poets, Nazir Ahmad repeatedly refers to Sauda, Mir Taki Mir and Mirza Ghalib. However, all the sympathies of Nazir Ahmad are on the side of his contemporaries and like-thinking people, who stood for the path of renovation of literature.

First, he speaks with warm sympathies about the Marcia authors, and the poets who mourned the downfall of the nation. Here Nazir Ahmad specially points out the works of well-known Lucknow poets Mir Anis (1801—1874) and Mirza Dabir (1802—1875). And although their views were comparatively farther from the views of the Muslim Indian enlighteners, Nazir Ahmad highly praised their works for their closeness to the actual life of the people, and for that love of the native people and country, which those leading poets expressed with unsurpassed mastery. Compassion for the people who had fallen under foreign yoke, the mourning for its past glories—this is what impressed Nazir Ahmad, and made him consider Anis and Dabir as his immediate forerunners.

Second, Nazir Ahmad's fixed considerations attracted him to the patriotic and didactic-reformative poetry, which had developed extensively in the last three decades of the 19th century. In this connection he names first and foremost Altaf Hussain Hali, whose poems "Patriotism" (Khubb-e-watan), "The season of Rains" (Barkharut), "The Joy of Hope" (Nishat-e-ummed), and especially the musaddas "Tides and Ebbs of Islam" (Madd-o-jazr-e-Islam), accomplished a genuine revolution in Urdu poetry. Nazir Ahmad said: "Hali, who wrote

"Musaddas", started a new tradition in Urdu poetry. But I don't think that he wrote 'Musaddas' just because he wanted to emphasize the new poetic style. His true aim was to awaken the sleeping nation and not to allow the current of decline to sweep over its head (Lectures, Vol. I, pp. 152—153).

Often the didactic character of these works is identified with artistic imperfection and is considered as their fault. However, didacticism is inherent in all the works of the enlighteners, it is their specific inalienable feature and cannot serve as the criterion of artistic value. Didacticism of the enlighteners is organic, it permeates the whole of artistic flesh of the work, and serves to emphasize the high morality of man and his great mission and to praise the social duty. And if in the novels of Nazir Ahmad, some chapters appear to be external illustrations for definite moral position, expressed in a publicist form, then this testifies only to the fact that the author has not yet fully mastered the method of enlightening realism, at which he had arrived spontaneously, and not to the limited possibilities of the method itself.

Didactics by itself does not belittle the services of the Indian enlighteners. An example of this is the great influence on the subsequent poetry of Hali's "Masuddas", a work openly didactic with clearly expressed tendentiousness, but carrying in it an emphasis on great humanistic ideas. And only in those cases, where the didactic works of Urdu writers of that period were not dedicated to high ideas of man's mission, if they did not contain an emphasis on new ideas and denial of obsolete and conservative ones, and if their content led to a narrow and limited moralisation and dry sermons, then they were left aside, away from the main path of development of leading Urdu literature, and did not leave behind any noticeable trace.

The fact that in the poetical insertions which one comes across quite often in the lectures, he is astonishingly close to Hali in his contents, also proves his encouraging attitude towards A. H. Hali's poetry and that they had similar or close views. Not only in contents, but also in form (on a few occasions, Nazir Ahmad used the form of the "Musaddas" i.e. sestet, which became especially popular after the publication of Hali's "Musaddas") Nazir Ahmad tries to follow the example of Hali, although he does not acquire the poetical mastery of the latter.

In connection with the development of literature in the mother tongue, Nazir Ahmad, also on a number of occasions, mentions the names of M. H. Azad and Shibli Noumani, underlining the same quality of theirs which impressed him—their aspirations to break away from the medieval aesthetical canons and the efforts of these writers to strengthen the civic note of the literature, and to make it topical and socially active.

Nazir Ahmad's attitude towards the mother tongue is also explained by this position. It should be noted that all enlighteners paid a great deal of attention to the question of democratization of the national language. Nazir Ahmad also did not ignore it. Having asserted the right of his people to receive education in mother tongue, which was close to spoken language, Nazir Ahmad, at the same time did not share the views of the purists, who opposed anyform of adoption. He saw, that many terms for indicating phenomena, which were earlier unknown to Indians, were beginning to enter Indian languages from English, and considered this to be a natural phenomenon. Indeed English (and in fact international, since the majority of them were genetically connected

with Latin) terms made it easier to assimilate the experience of European science, allowed the Indian intelligentsia to overcome the medieval isolation, and became the bridges connecting the cultures of people standing on different levels of development. In 1891 in Aligarh answering extremely jealous preservers of the purity of Urdu, he said: "I foretell, that a time will unavoidably come, when pure Urdu will become meaningless, and that it can't do without borrowings from English. And in about fifty years the following will happen: those who do not understand English will not understand articles written in Urdu either, as it happened with the newspapers "Al-Jawaib" in Constantinopole and "Akhtar" in Teheran, which will be difficult to read if one does not know French" (Lectures, Vol. I, p. 245). It may be said that Nazir Ahmad's prophecy has come true—majority of scientific, economic and socio-political terms in Urdu are taken from the English language, and repeated attempts to replace them by a terminology based on Arabic and Persian vocabulary have so far achieved only modest results.

A short examination of some of the positions, expressed in the "Lectures" of Nazir Ahmad, allow us to draw the conclusion that the main motives of his speeches (as also of his artistic works) was an appeal to overcome the backwardness of his community and for an assimilation of the achievements of European culture and science. In the current of the new-born bourgeois ideology, these were an urge to awaken their people, to turn them away from the medieval stagnation towards a dynamic modernism. Here the positions taken up by Nazir Ahmad are the same as those taken up by Sayed Ahmad Khan, A. H. Hali, Shibli Noumani and other North Indian reformers. Nazir Ahmad sometimes differed with his collegues on the methods of realising these theories and on questions of tactics, having secondary importance in comparison to the general line. However, these differences do not provide any basis for an examination of his works outside the trend of Enlightenment. Service to their people and an aspiration to see them as equals of other great and developed peoples—this was the ideal, for the achievement of which these social workers and men of letters fully dedicated their lives and works. An examination of Nazir Ahmad's publicistic heritage helps us to better understand the essence of his artistic quests, the contribution which he made to Urdu Literature with his novels, and to understand their ideological trend correlating with the trend in the works of European enlighteners.

The contents of Nazir Ahmad's "Lectures" are not exhausted by the questions considered above. Historians of the social thought of North India, studying the ideological life of the country during the second half of 19th century and the researchers in Urdu literature, will find in them a great deal that is interesting and has not been touched upon in these notes. We will consider our task as having been fulfilled, if we are able to draw the attention of scholars to this interesting but undeservedly forgotten or at least very rarely of quoted source.

A NOTE

[1] "Manulavi Nazir Ahmad Sahib: Lekcharon ka majuma", Delhi 1918. Jild awwal our duwwum—Further reference in the text as (Lectures Vol. . . pp. . .)